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Sub-Saharan Africa

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Ethiopia

Ministry: Mengistu 'Misquoted' on Atlanta Talks

AB1309163189 Paris AFP in English 1303 GMT
13 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Addis Ababa, Sept 13 (AFP)—The Ethiopian Ministry of Information on Wednesday formally denied reports that quoted President Mengistu Haile Mariam as saying that peace talks with Eritrean rebels in Atlanta, Georgia, were on the "verge of collapse."

The president only "expressed his apprehension lest the talks be hampered by trivialities," a ministry spokesman said in a written statement handed out to Ethiopian journalists working for Western news agencies.

The spokesman expressed "dismay" that the president was misquoted when in point of fact he had "renewed the commitment of the Ethiopian Government to press on with the search for peace."

The statement referred to reports of a speech by Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu at a public rally here on Tuesday to mark the 15th anniversary of the revolution that toppled former Emperor Haile Selassie.

The text of the speech was not distributed to the press either in Amharic or in English translation and reporters had to rely on their notes on the public statement.
[passage omitted]

BBC Reports War in Tigray Province

AB1309124089 London BBC World Service in English
0730 GMT 13 Sep 89

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] The Ethiopian leader has expressed his pessimism over the peace talks with the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] in the American city of Atlanta. President Mengistu, speaking to a Revolution Day parade yesterday, accused the EPLF of intransigence and said they were not serious. Whether the Ethiopian Government is going to pull out of the peace talks is not certain. What is certain is that in Ethiopia's other troubled region, Tigray Province, a new battle has been raging since the end of last month, involving the Tigray People's Liberation Front, the TPLF. Here is a report by Lucy Hannon:

[Begin Hannon recording] According to independent reports in Ethiopia, rebels from the Tigray People's Liberation Front, the TPLF, have pushed south into Wollo Province in a major new offensive. Fighting can be heard from (Wolbera), a city at crossroads about 300 miles north of the capital, Addis Ababa. This is apparently the biggest (?offensive) into the Wollo Province since the TPLF took control of much of the northern Tigray Province at the beginning of the year.

Reports coming out of Ethiopia say hospitals in Wollo Province have been filling up with a lot of government soldiers recently and that truckloads of government troops have been seen heading north from the main provincial town, Dessie, and from the capital Addis Ababa. On a TPLF radio broadcast, the rebels claims to have killed more than a 1,000 troops over the last 2 weeks, saying they control a number a new towns including Lalibela, a town famous for its ancient churches built out of the rocky face. For the purpose of a new sudden offensive, the TPLF had formed a united front with another rebel group, the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement. According to the TPLF, fighting began when they were attacked by government troops. But according to the government, the renewed fighting in the north was initiated by the rebels. [end recording]

Electoral College Elects De Klerk President

*MB1409084289 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0839 GMT 14 Sep 89*

[Text] Parliament Sept 14 SAPA—Mr F.W. de Klerk was unanimously elected second executive state president of the RSA [Republic of South Africa] by the electoral college sitting in the House of Assembly today.

Mr Louis le Grange (MP Potchefstroom) was unanimously re-elected speaker of Parliament.

In nominating Mr de Klerk, the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said the election of a head of state was a momentous occasion in the history of any country. In the case of South Africa, the election of the new head of state was of decisive importance.

The quality of leadership, together with the quality of leaders not represented here, would have a decisive impact on the future of the country.

The nomination was seconded by the leader of the free state National Party and minister of justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

Mr le Grange was nominated by the leader of the house and leader of the Cape National Party, Dr Dawie de Villiers, and seconded by the National Party chief whip, Mr Keppies Niemann (Kimberley South).

De Klerk Comments

*MB1409093189 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0928 GMT 14 Sep 89*

[Text] Cape Town September 14 SAPA—The acting state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, said today that by being elected the state president, he would become the leader of all South Africans and his goal would be to make all South Africans party to the decision-making process.

He spoke briefly after being informed of his unanimous election by a delegation from the parliamentary electoral college who brought the news to Tuynhuys.

Mr de Klerk, with his wife Maryke at his side, told a large group of foreign and local mediemen that he had no illusions about the responsibility of the position and that he would have to take the country through the most decisive phase in its history.

He said the next five years would be a most critical phase.

"We are committed to lead South Africa through peaceful means to a new dispensation.

"It will be a tremendous privilege to lead this country to this goal," he said.

He humbly realised his shortcomings and that he could only take on this task if he had the support of responsible leaders.

With the position of state president, he also became the leader of all South Africans.

"Not only those represented in Parliament.

"That will also be my approach. Our goal is that all South Africans, in a just and equitable manner, become part of the decision-making processes of South Africa."

"We can only succeed if we approach our task with our eyes prayerfully lifted to almighty God."

"Especially Parliament will have to play a decisive role and I hope my term will go hand in hand with a term of cooperation in Parliament, in the spirit of our times and rising to the challenges, setting aside internal strife."

He thanked his wife, "who has been a good wife and who has supported me throughout my life in a special way."

The delegation which came to convey the message of his election was lead by Mr Pik Botha, the minister of foreign affairs and his colleague the minister of justice and OFS [Orange Free State] National Party leader, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

Also present were the chief whips of the Labour and Solidarity parties, Mr Kosie Oosthuizen and Mr Yunus Moolla, as well as members of the opposition NPP [National People's Party] in the House of Delegates.

Further Reportage on 13 Sep Cape Town March**Mayor on 'Successful' March**

*MB1309184789 Johannesburg Television Service
in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 13 Sep 89*

[Comments by Cape Town Mayor Gordon Oliver to unidentified reporter following a protest march from St George's Cathedral to Cape Town City Hall on 13 September; Oliver comments in English—recorded]

[Text] Yes, we are very moved by what has happened today. We have had an absolutely peaceful and successful demonstration of brotherhood and love.

The Cape Town City Council stands for an open society, for a society in which there is no discrimination, where everybody has an equal opportunity.

And, I think today has been an extremely good demonstration of precisely those values we hold dear to ourselves.

Commentary on De Klerk Approach

*MB1409061789 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 14 Sep 89*

[Station commentary]

[Text] The necessity for a protest march in Cape Town yesterday was questioned in some quarters, but those who organized the march considered this form of protest

necessary for the particular political statement they wished to make. As such this was their democratic right, and they were allowed to exercise it. For its part, the state, whose responsibility it is to protect its citizens and their property, had to consider the implications of a protest march through crowded city streets in the busy lunch hour period, and in particular, the safety of bystanders, shoppers, workers, and others.

On Tuesday the acting state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, announced that as far as the government was concerned, the march could go ahead. Mr de Klerk said that the government had no objection to peaceful and orderly protest and had been given the definite assurance by the organizers that the march would be peaceful. Mr de Klerk's approach to the Cape Town march is an important statement of commitment on the removal of obstacles to negotiations and the peaceful broadening of democracy in South Africa. Indeed it goes beyond yesterday's march and addresses the broad political climate found in the country at present. It is a commitment to the accepted tenets of political protest as known in a democratic society. It recognizes the right to make a political statement of those who marched in Cape Town yesterday and their supporters elsewhere. It is as well an appeal to all reasonable men and women of divergent political persuasions to seek common values, so that the political debate and political negotiations can be based on a common purpose and a common loyalty to the broader interests of South Africa.

The commitment in Mr de Klerk's approach is further entrenched in the government's response to complaints about police action in protest situations. An assurance has been given that those enforcing law and order will act correctly. Where powers are exceeded remedial steps will be taken. There will in future, as at present, be those who will persist in confrontationist politics and in violence. But for those who genuinely believe in peaceful and democratic protest, the door has been opened wide for positive and constructive contributions to the building of a new political and constitutional dispensation in South Africa.

There is no justification for malicious propaganda that incites people locally and damages the country's name abroad. There is no justification for violence and conflict. Differences can be settled without resorting to confrontation. The future can be negotiated through peaceful democratic channels.

Police Report No Incidents

*MB1309162089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1551 GMT 13 Sep 89*

[Text] Cape Town September 13 SAPA—No incidents were reported in today's peace protest march through Cape Town, police and marshalls said today.

Chief Marshall of the event, Mr Wilf Rhodes said that apart from some organisational confusion the march went off without any unpleasant incidents.

A police spokesman said late this afternoon that no incidents were reported.

Boesak, Government Spokesman Comment

*MB1309161489 London BBC World Service in English
1309 GMT 13 Sep 89*

[From the "24 Hours" program, presented by Catherine Davis]

[Excerpts] In South Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu today led tens of thousands of demonstrators through central Cape Town after a service in the Anglican cathedral.

The marchers were protesting at what they said was police brutality during antiapartheid demonstrations last week, when several children were among those killed.

Today's events were all the more remarkable because they were technically illegal under South Africa's emergency laws. In a surprising change of mind yesterday, South Africa's Acting President Mr F.W. de Klerk said the government had no objection to the planned march, provided it was peaceful. [passage omitted]

One of the organizers of today's march, the Reverend Allan Boesak, earlier explained what he saw as the significance of Mr de Klerk's decision to let the demonstration go ahead:

[Begin Boesak recording] This is a major capitulation on the side of the South African Government and a very significant victory for the Mass Democratic Movement and the forces for democracy in South Africa because it is the first time that the South African Government has actually willingly, sort of, stood back to let the march go ahead. And, I think Mr de Klerk is doing simply what for him, and for his government, and for his image is the best thing that he could do by this tacit recognition that we do, under the circumstances, have the right to peaceful protest in South Africa. [end recording]

Well, a short while ago, I telephoned Brigadier Leon Mellet, at South Africa's Law and Order Ministry. Was Mr de Klerk's climbdown an effective indictment of last week's police violence against antiapartheid demonstrators?

[Begin recording] [Mellet] I don't think one must look at it in that line. The announcement by the acting state president followed lengthy talks between the South African Police and other departments, as well. So, it is not just a one person decision. It was a decision taken at high level in which the South African Police played a very major role in this actual final decision.

[Davis] But, in the past 6 weeks, police have used shotguns, whips, dogs, and tear gas to break up similar gatherings. How then did you regard the fact that the president allowed this very large demonstration to go ahead?

[Mellet] It will be wrong to say that there were similar gatherings. The only time that the police had used force and a degree of force was when the situation needed that, when the South African Police had to act against people petrol-bombing motorists; setting up, burning barricades in roads; attacking people; killing people. When they become violent and aggressive, that is a different mood to this one today. The whole procession was pre-discussed with the organizers. There were certain assurances given that the procession would be peaceful. So, we must not compare today's procession with other processions. It would be wrong to compare them.

[Davis] And it would be wrong to suggest that the way that this demonstration was policed, it amounts to a fundamental change of tactics by the police force, in general?

[Mellet] No, I think we have reached, as the state president, the acting state president has said, we have reached a new stage, and he has appealed to people to come forward and participate in creating a new South Africa. I do not want to venture onto politics, but the South African Police has a very important part to play in this. Unfortunately, there was a very mass action prior to the general elections, which is now finished. That is now gone, that is past. [end recording]

CP Criticizes Government

MB1309120989 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1102 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Cape Town Sept 13 SAPA—The peace march in Cape Town today was symbolic of government's "capitulation" before radicals, the Conservative Party [CP] said today.

CP law and order spokesman Moolman Mentz said in a statement the march's organisers had said the event was aimed "against the police who acted against rioters during election night".

Mr Moolman said by allowing the march to go ahead, government had sanctioned "open resistance" to police actions on September 6 while an official enquiry into the matter was still underway.

"A knife has been thrust into the back of the maintainers of law and order," Mr Moolman said.

"It is a breach of trust on the part of the government to the SAP [South African Police] and is condemned in the strongest terms by the Conservative Party."

Police Detain UDF Member After University Meeting

MB1409063489 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0622 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 14 SAPA—A member of the United Democratic Front, Mr Titus Mafolo, was detained last night after speaking at the Johannesburg Action Committee meeting on negotiations.

The meeting was held in the Dorothy Suskind Hall at the University of the Witwatersrand last night.

According to a witness, Mr Gregg Malebo, who was travelling with Mr Mafolo, about 15 plain-clothed policemen in an unmarked Ford Husky and another car prevented them from leaving after the meeting.

"Mr Mafolo was climbing in the car when the two unmarked vehicles pulled up and about 15 men, identifying themselves as policemen, took Titus into detention."

A Mr Ronny Mamoepe, Mr G. Malebo and a woman known as Lisa were travelling with Mr Malebo.

'Wit Wolwe' Threaten Mass Movement Campaigners

MB1309154089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1510 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Grahamstown Sept 13 SAPA—A pamphlet attributed to the ultra-right wing "Wit Wolwe" [White Wolves] movement which threatens to kill people taking part in the Mass Democratic Movement's [MDM] defiance campaign has been issued in Grahamstown.

The pamphlet was placed under the residence door of a restricted Rhodes University student activist last night.

It stated the MDM's defiance campaign was a communist plot against the country.

The pamphlet insulted black and Indian people who "want to use our hospitals, schools, parks and buses", and said the Wit Wolwe's solution to this was to ensure people taking part in the MDM defiance campaign "end up in mortuaries".

It also referred to mass killer Barend Strydom as a "hero" and praised the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The pamphlet further said: "We cannot depend on Vlok...so the Wit Wolwe will defend South Africa from overthrow by the communists and the ANC [African National Congress]."

13 Sep Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB1309114289

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

'Merits' of Free Enterprise—"Amid deepening economic gloom, the ISCOR [Iron and Steel Corporation] share issue is a beacon which sheds much light on the potential merits of a really free enterprise society," says a page 16 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 13 September. "Just when the inexorable inroads of government into the private sector looked to be gaining yet more momentum, a meaningful chunk of the nation's productive resources is to be funnelled into private hands." "It is to be hoped that existing black ownership

of ISCOR shares will be extended once the public issue is launched. The goodwill generated by the manner in which the issue has been promoted is in marked contrast to the ill-feeling stemming from the privatisation of toll roads."

BUSINESS DAY

Cabinet Must Deal With 'Economic Fallacies'—"As President-in-waiting F.W. de Klerk prepares to appoint a new Cabinet he may care to reflect how much of his predecessor's endeavour was undone by his ineptitude and ignorance in the economic management of the country," remarks a page 18 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 13 September. "For one thing, it is a myth that the debt problem was created by politics; it was in fact created by short-term off-shore borrowing which was intended to avert the pain of high interest rates. That the problem was compounded by political clumsiness is true, but that serves as an all-too-convenient excuse to cover the policy errors of the Reserve Bank and the Finance Minister." F.W. de Klerk's "political statements imply that the National Party has at last been convinced of the folly of apartheid. Nobody will be surprised if economic policy lags somewhat behind a political U-turn of such magnitude but South Africa is running out of time. The country needs a Cabinet which is prepared to junk the economic fallacies that accompanied apartheid."

Police Problems Lie at Level of 'Generals'—A second editorial on the same page welcomes the appointment of General Japp Joubert to investigate allegations of police brutality in the Western Cape but "it is wholly inadequate to the need to examine the role of the police force. The problems do not essentially lie at the level of the constable with a quirt; they lie at the level of the generals." "By seeking to dispose of the problem with the appointment of a general to conduct an 'internal' investigation, the Minister of Police merely diverts attention from the need to re-examine the problems of the force as a whole."

SOWETAN

'Anger' in Townships Over Police Shootings—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 13 September in its page 6 editorial says "it is understandable that there is a lot of anger in the black townships after two white policemen were jailed this week for six and five years each for the killing of a Soweto woman last year." SOWETAN believes "it is ultimately a government that arms young men—many in their teens—and lets them loose in the black townships that is responsible for this monstrous crime." "We have had several such cases recently, of so-called bogus policemen terrorising township residents. In apartheid society, the guns and the colour of their skins give them licence, even to commit the most heartless of killings. After all, they do not consider their victims to be fully human."

CAPE TIMES

De Klerk, ANC Seek To Stall Negotiations—Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 11 September in its page 6 editorial says "neither the ANC [African National Congress] nor Mr de Klerk are keen to start serious negotiations just yet. Both sides will want to stall and indulge in diplomatic posturing. Pretoria, seeking to appear in the West as reasonable and open to compromise, will put the blame for continuing stalemate on the ANC. The latter, under Soviet prodding to come to the table, will return the compliment, wanting to appear to be just as flexible and ready to negotiate. If too much time is wasted on fancy footwork, a window of opportunity may slam shut which will not easily be re-opened."

TRANSVALER

Facts on Police Behavior May Allay 'Uncertainty'—Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 11 September in a page 8 editorial comments: "One can argue as one likes, but the already depressing picture of South Africa sketched by Archbishop Tutu and the Reverend Boesak will be exacerbated by Lieutenant Rockman's allegations. A reckless and wild game without rules is being played in the Peninsula." "And while a torrent of information, mostly uncontrolled and subjective, is being sent into the world along with horror images, the facts presented to South Africans are rather skimpy." "The respectability and credibility of the South African Police is often questioned. More facts will allay the uncertainty."

Editorial Warns of White Anger—A second editorial on the same page says: "It is fatally oversimplified to say that the only forces in the South African political situation is that of black anger and white fear. It is much more complicated than that. White anger will also have to be reckoned with."

DIE BURGER

Opposition Parties 'Much To Account for'—Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 11 September writes in a page 8 editorial: "It is important to look at what is ahead for the two opposition parties in the House of Assembly, the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party." "Both parties have much to account for. One of the most important matters Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party has to deal with is that it has to spell out, once and for all, how it will implement its policy of partition, if the party ever comes to power." "The Democratic Party has more immediate problems of which the leadership issue is not the least." "The Democratic Party also remains linked to extra-parliamentary organizations like the Mass Democratic Movement. The Democratic Party is at risk of becoming a lackey of these organizations."

BEELD

Foreign Pressure May Release White Anger—Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 12 September comments in a page 16 editorial: "South Africa has

become a case study in the effect of foreign pressure on a country." "Moderate South Africans like Professor Pieter de Lange, chairman of the Afrikaner-Broederbond [brotherhood], and Mr Jan Steyn, chairman of the Urban Foundation, last week justly warned against the danger of pushing their countrymen too hard. Prof De Lange said it would lead to the destruction of South Africa if white anger is released. Mr Steyn said too much pressure would cause a mindless, emotional reaction among whites, as happened with the unilateral declaration of independence in the former Rhodesia. These dangers are already latent in our social life and fragile economy."

Mayoral Protest March 'Abuse' of Office—In another editorial on the same page BEELD says: "Cape Town's newly elected mayor's plan to lead, together with the Democratic Party councillors, the protest march to parliament is not the kind of example South Africans have come to expect of its first citizens." This is nothing less than abuse of his office."

ILANGA

De Klerk Chance To Institute Genuine Reform—Durban ILANGA in Zulu on 11-13 September in its page 4 editorial says: "The result of the white election brings hope to all progressive South Africans who have determined to work for a negotiated future built on reconciliation and democratic rule. The Democratic Party's remarkable performances is most encouraging, since the party has openly come out in support of power sharing." "The ruling NP, which lost 30 seats in the election," must "know this is its last chance to institute genuine reform, with the participation of the so far voteless black majority." "It was the NP that conceived apartheid," and now "we hope its parents' have turned their backs on it forever." "The following months will tell whether NP Leader F.W. de Klerk genuinely promises a democratic future, and if he will be able to deliver. Should he indulge in unnecessary procrastination, history will cast him aside into ignominy. The choice is his."

SUNDAY REPUBLIKEIN

"The registration process went very well," observes a page 8 editorial in Windhoek SUNDAY REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans on 10 September. "A registration percentage of over 95 percent at this stage is as good as one can hope for. To arrive at 100 percent registration borders on the impossible." Therefore, "the Namibians, officials supervising the registration, and UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group] can look back with satisfaction that they managed to achieve this much at least."

* Buthelezi Responds to 'Cult' Article

34000771b Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 28 Jul-3 Aug 89 p 12

[Letter to the Editor]

[Text] I have the unpleasant task of drawing attention to the very mischievous report published in the WEEKLY

MAIL (July 21) under the heading "Shenge, Shenge". The whole article is a vicious attack on the best I am doing to bring about peace in strife-torn areas of kwa-Zulu and Natal. For the WEEKLY MAIL to present my personal commitment to peace as developing a "Buthelezi cult" is vicious political propaganda of the kind which actually produces the killing.

The headline itself is disgusting. Because I am a political leader it does not mean I have to drop all the cultural heritage that has made the Zulu people what they are. The term "Shenge" is naturally afforded to a person in my position in polite Zulu society. It has nothing whatsoever to do with adulation.

I must point out that when Dr Mandela wrote to me from prison earlier this year, he addressed me in his letter using the term "Shenge". Does Thandeka Gqubule accuse Dr Mandela of adulation when he uses this term?

The bad taste of the article shames all black people in South Africa. In talking about the deeply felt Christian commitment to peace, Miss Gqubule describes the Reverend Dlamini's prayer being marked by "emotive and hysterical pleas" and said that women "wept and screamed as they prayed aloud".

Most of all, I think however, I take exception to a reference to Dr Mandela's letter to me. Miss Gqubule says "he (referring to myself) went on to establish his credentials by reading a letter from Nelson Mandela, jailed African National Congress leader, adding that he had been invited to the Mandela home before his imprisonment".

Miss Gqubule, you shame Dr Nelson Mandela and all the martyrs and heroes who have died in the black struggle for liberation. Dr Mandela's letter to me was a plea for peace and I took his plea to the people. Your assertion that I read the letter to establish my credentials is vicious.

In this whole article there is not one word of praise, not one word of recognition that I and Inkatha are actually working for peace. There is only denigration and ridicule. Not only is the article a shame to black South Africa and indicates that Miss Gqubule is totally unfeeling about her fellow blacks, but the article also represents an attitude of the WEEKLY MAIL. The article is prominent and it is presented as a major story. It has an editorial stamp on it. It shames the WEEKLY MAIL as being completely out of touch with black political reality.

—Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha

- This letter has been shortened.

*** Differences in NP, Inkatha Policies Reviewed**

34000784c Durban THE DAILY NEWS
in English 26 Jul 89 p 25

[Article by Bruce Cameron: "The Great Divide". "Nats Not Yet 'Best of Buddies' With Either Inkatha or Chief Buthelezi"]

[Text] There was a time when relations between the National Party [NP] and Zulu leaders were less than cordial. Lately efforts have been made to create the impression that this has all changed.

Casual observers can be forgiven for thinking that the National Party is now best of buddies with Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha.

This is certainly the impression that certain elements in the party have been trying to create as part of the image of being a party capable of negotiation.

However, the bad news for the National Party is that it is nowhere near even reaching negotiating stage with Inkatha, let alone with some of the more hardline organisations.

Earlier this year, Dr Buthelezi made it clear that the current discussions between Inkatha and a Government committee were only talks about talks to identify obstacles to real negotiations rather than negotiations.

The obstacles as perceived by Inkatha were spelt out recently in a full-page newspaper advertisement.

Strikingly, they were very similar to many of the "pre-conditions" set by other organisations, including the African National Congress [ANC]. Nor has the National Party's "Plan of Action" election manifesto come anywhere near meeting these demands.

Even on the simplest issue of the release of ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, the NP is prevaricating.

The National Party plan of action, which NP politicians are promoting as a dramatic political breakthrough, gives little hope, under present circumstances, of getting the various parties to the negotiating table, let alone actually getting down to serious discussions.

A point-for-point comparison with the Inkatha advertisement and recent NP statements and the NP manifesto highlights just how great is the distance between the NP and Inkatha. Obvious stumbling blocks are:

- Inkatha rejects exclusive negotiations involving all groups sitting at one table.

The Government has stated it is opposed to a national convention, although it talks about an ill-defined Great Indaba while attempting to talk to groups individually;

Inkatha demands the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other Rivonia trialists, the release of political prisoners

who have served 15, or more, years and apply normal remission of sentence and parole to other political prisoners.

The Government has dealt with this piecemeal, or not at all, in public constantly changing the conditions for the release of political prisoners;

Inkatha wants the state of emergency lifted.

Government spokesmen continue to defend the state of emergency and predict it won't be lifted in the near future;

Inkatha wants all organisations, including the ANC and the UDF [United Democratic Front], unbanned to allow them to participate.

The NP has continually increased the number of organisations banned, even those which have explicitly rejected violence as weapon for change, with restriction orders being renewed on 18 organisations as recently as June this year;

Inkatha wants the Government to declare an amnesty for all exiles to allow them to return.

The government has not dealt with this issue publicly;

Inkatha wants the compulsory race group concept dropped and discriminatory laws, including the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act, scrapped.

The NP plan of action emphasises repeatedly that it continues to see race groups as the constitutional building blocks although it does make vague suggestions of an open South African group.

It continues, however, to talk about exclusive race groups which would have their own amenities.

It has also beaten a retreat on dropping the Separate Amenities Act after President P.W. Botha indicated it would be scrapped a few years ago;

Inkatha has consistently rejected the tricameral parliamentary system.

The National Party, although saying it is flawed, has continued to expand the racially exclusive own affairs concept as rapidly as possible further entrenching the system.

There are some points of common agreement, but they deal rather with wider concepts than actual detail.

Theses include agreement on a single, united South Africa, a belief in a democratic multi-party system, the protection of individual and minority rights, freedom of association and free enterprise with mechanisms to eliminate poverty.

Whatever its professed commitment to negotiating a peaceful future for South Africa, the reality is that the

National Party has to deliver a whole lot more concrete political change before it is going to find anyone with whom to negotiate.

* Terreblanche Discounted as Political Force

34000775 Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS
in English 5 Aug 89 p 19

[Article by Frans Esterhuyse]

[Text] Political meetings Eugene Terre'Blanche addressed, from Pietersburg to Cape Town, were enthralled by the man who in the safest of places would for some reason need to be surrounded by armed bodyguards, invariably clad in khaki with the nazi-like insignia of their movement displayed on their shoulders.

And he, with his staccato speaking style, would proceed to impale his audiences on the flame of his torch-blue eyes (with acknowledgement to Jani Allan).

Now he is being written off by most of his former associates in rightwing politics and in far-right movements.

The "Groot Karwats" (big whip) as the charismatic, tough-looking AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] leader came to be known among thousands of cheering supporters who flocked to his public meetings, stands discredited even in the eyes of rightwing leaders.

Once feared as a rising nazi-like Fuhrer who could sway the white masses with thundering speeches and militant racist slogans, Eugene Terre'Blanche is now despised and mocked among his former followers and henchmen as a leader with feet of clay.

Phone Calls

They say he has destroyed his own political career and can no longer be taken seriously as a factor in politics.

The last straw was his escapade involving glamorous SUNDAY TIMES columnist Jani Allan, who caused a sensation by releasing tapes revealing how he bombarded her with phone calls at all hours over a long period.

The disclosures included scores of calls recorded on her phone-answering machine. They were rambling and emotional with him pleading, at times incoherently, that she should answer his calls.

It all began after a much-publicised incident, also involving Miss Allan, at Paardekraal Monument last December and continued until mid-June this year. About two weeks later, according to Miss Allan, he spent a night sleeping on her doorstep after his pleas to be admitted had been ignored.

Mr Terre'Blanche subsequently denied this in a newspaper interview and was quoted as saying: "Miss Allan has never refused to open her door for me."

He has denied suggestions that there was a romance between them and the AWB's executive committee rejected the allegations about the doorstep incident as a "plot" against their leader.

Disintegration

But after the Paardekraal incident the AWB plunged into a crisis when Mr Terre'Blanche summarily dismissed four of his top lieutenants who had called for his resignation.

This sparked a process of disintegration in the AWB, with members of the rebel group forming a rival organisation, the Boerebevrydingsbeweging, which now claims it is drawing many disillusioned former AWB supporters.

Mr Jan Groenewald, a member of the rebel group and former deputy-leader of the AWB, said this week that Mr Terre'Blanche's latest behaviour confirmed what he and others had said at the time of their suspension from the AWB.

They stood by their viewpoint that his public actions, in general, had "placed the AWB in a cul-de-sac."

"His recent actions reaffirm that we were correct in saying the AWB could not be saved under Mr Terre'Blanche's leadership."

His information was that the AWB was losing members on a large scale. Many were joining the Boerebevrydingsbeweging, which was now forming a power base.

Dr Chris Jooste, another AWB rebel who was dismissed by Mr Terre'Blanche, said the Boerebevrydingsbeweging was gaining support in its bid to seek rightwing Afrikaner unity and to propagate the Boerestaat concept. The movement was not involved in party-politics.

Conservative Party sources said the AWB was a spent force and could not be revived after the political downfall of Mr Terre'Blanche.

"The AWB was Terre'Blanche and Terre'Blanche was the AWB," one prominent CP [Conservative Party] spokesman said in an unofficial comment. "He has destroyed himself."

Officially the CP declines to comment on the problems of rightwing movements.

Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) leader Mr Jaap Marais, who is challenging CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in his Waterberg constituency in the general election, is one of few rightwing politicians who believe the AWB will survive in spite of Mr Terre'Blanche's escapades.

Mr Marais, who claims he is getting strong AWB support in his campaign, says a group of supporters is standing by Mr Terre'Blanche "in spite of everything," while others have indicated they will remain loyal to the AWB regardless of who the leader is.

Pretoria political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans said: "The AWB has been destroyed. It was built around Eugene Terre'Blanche and now his personal image has been demolished. No matter what he says to explain his behaviour, the movement cannot survive as a political force or as a cultural organisation."

There were clear signs that the movement was disintegrating, with its former supporters flocking to the Conservative Party and other rightwing organisations.

Mr Terre'Blanche has been a controversial figure since he and six others launched the AWB in a Heidelberg garage in 1973.

Ironically, one of those who founded the movement was former deputy-leader Mr Jan Groenewald, dismissed by Mr Terre'Blanche this year.

Tar, Feathering

The movement originally operated in secret, but it leapt into prominence after the tarring and feathering of historian Professor Floors van Jaarsveld for delivering an address on the desanctification of the Day of the Covenant.

That was in 1979. A group of AWB men, led by Mr Terre'Blanche himself, burst into the plush Unisa senate hall in Pretoria during an academic congress as Professor van Jaarsveld made his controversial speech.

Authoress Shelagh Gastrow, in her *Who's Who in South African Politics*, notes that Terre'Blanche and 13 supporters were subsequently prosecuted on charges of assault, trespass, crimen injuria and malicious damage to property.

The AWB said Professor van Jaarsveld's view was a "blasphemous attack on Afrikaner history and religion."

The movement's major aim is to ensure the continued existence of the Afrikaner nation and it seeks to establish a free, Christian Boer republic. It wants to foster a strong consciousness in Afrikaners of their white origins and heritage, their blood ties and racial purity.

In the state envisaged by the AWB, the president will be elected by whites and the government will be run by representatives of various occupational and professional groupings. The movement also makes provision for a separate area for coloured people in the Western Cape, but regards the Indian community as a foreign entity with no claim to its own parliament.

In December 1982 police uncovered arms caches in a snoop on the AWB. Nine men, including Mr Terre'Blanche, were detained in terms of security legislation. In July 1983 he and three associates were charged with terrorism.

Arms, Explosives

They were accused of possessing arms, ammunition and explosives of Russian, North Korean, Chinese, East

German, Romanian and Yugoslavian origin, found in trunks buried on the farm of Mr Terre'Blanche's brother Andries.

Eugene was found guilty and sentenced to two years' imprisonment suspended for five years. He was given leave to appeal.

In his political utterances he has expressed the belief that the 1983 constitution will spell the end of Afrikanerdom. He has warned that when the country collapses, conservatives will recapture South Africa by force.

At his meetings he usually arrives with great fanfare and military music, flanked by bodyguards in khaki uniforms and preceded by flag-carrying youths.

The Transvaal Republic's Vierkleur is seldom absent and is accompanied by the distinctive AWB flag in black, red and white, and featuring a nazi swastika-type symbol of three sevens—said to be the antidote to the anti-Christ's 666.

The AWB has also become known for its anti-semitism and racist policies. The movement also opposes liberalism and communism.

In February this year the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, prohibited firearms at AWB meetings by an order in the Government Gazette.

Mr Terre'Blanche immediately slated the ban.

After the Paardekraal Monument incident last December, Mr Terre'Blanche appeared in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court on charges of malicious damage to property after allegedly breaking and damaging a gate, and crimen injuria after allegedly swearing at two policemen.

He was acquitted in May this year and soon after the verdict his followers burst into prolonged applause.

[Boxed item] For years he stomped the country, striking fear into the hearts of those who saw in him a Hitler-in-the-making—and excitement and expectancy into the hearts of those in search of a political saviour.

The militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging he still leads was regarded as the spearhead of a potential rightwing revolutionary takeover in South Africa.

Now he is being written off....[End boxed item]

* CSIR Produces Rare Chemical for Export

34000774 Cape Town CAPE TIMES
in English 10 Aug 89 p 17

[Article by Bruce Willan]

[Text] A rare, extremely poisonous and very valuable platinum group metal compound, Osmium Tetroxide is being produced by CSIR [Council for Scientific and Industrial Research] for export purposes.

The chemical is used all over the world as a chemical re-agent and in electron microscopy studies.

Producing the chemical is extremely dangerous and the CSIR is the only organization in the southern hemisphere with the expertise to produce large enough quantities to export in a safe way.

Osmium tetroxide retails for about \$66 per gram with about R1m worth being exported every year.

Eric Singleton, programme manager for the production of the rare compound says until the production process was developed, the raw material osmium sludge had only a limited value.

The CSIR process uses very sophisticated inert atmosphere and vacuum handling techniques enabling the operator to purify the tetroxide in complete safety.

*** Organization Launched To Help Small Business**

34000784b Johannesburg SOWETAN
in English 8 Aug 89 p 9

[Article by Joshua Raboroko]

[Text] An organisation which aims to improve the financial position of hundreds of small entrepreneurs in the townships is to be launched in Soweto today.

Organiser of the South African Small and Informal Businesses Association Mr Ntsiki Mbundu yesterday said the organisation would bring the informal sector under an umbrella that will protect their rights and shield them from harassment by local authorities.

He said the aim was to bring all spaza shops, street vendors, shoe repairers, panel beaters, dressmakers and other informal businesses under one wing.

Organisations such as the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Businesses, Get Ahead Foundation, Business Challenge, Small Business Development Corporation and chambers of commerce have been invited to participate and give advice to the emerging black business.

He said: "We want to assist in developing and stimulating a sound efficient and balanced small business sector with the aim of maintaining it as one cornerstone of a free market economy and to assist in its growth."

The informal sector contributed millions of rands to the South African economy and it was vital that its presence should be appreciated by the formal business sector.

The association will help the informal sector acquire money.

*** Links Forged With Lesotho Taxi Association**

34000784a Johannesburg SOWETAN
in English 8 Aug 89 p 3

[Article by Joshua Raboroko: "Sabta Links Up With Lesotho Taxi Association"]

[Text] The Southern Africa Black Taxi Association (Sabta) has forged links with the Lesotho Taxi Association [LTA] in an attempt to bring black entrepreneurs in the Southern Africa region together.

Speaking after talks between the two associations, Sabta's president Mr James Ngcoya, said LTA joined them because they wanted to become part of South Africa's mainstream economy.

He said: "We have the capacity and capability to extend our services beyond the borders of South Africa.

"We look forward to assisting the LTA."

Happy

The Lesotho delegation was led by LTA president, Mr Sechaba Mabula, who said there was a great need for development of the taxi industry.

His association was happy to have joined forces with Sabta.

The delegation included a representative of the Lesotho National Development Corporation which supported the LTA's initiatives to improve the passenger service in the mountain kingdom.

The joining of LTA brings the number of Sabta affiliates to 10.

Swaziland and Namibia have already joined and talks are underway to establish links with the taxi industry in Mozambique.

Angola

'Official' Tripartite Session To Begin 14 Sep

MB1309193889 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese
1900 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Members of the tripartite verification commission of the New York accords are expected to hold the usual preliminary meeting of experts in Havana a few moments from now.

The official session will take place tomorrow.

Correspondent Luis Bernardo has further details:

[Begin Bernardo recording] As we pointed out earlier today, the verification commission, including Angola, Cuba, and South Africa, is expected to hold its fifth session after being established under the southwest African agreements to follow up implementation of these same agreements.

Information received yesterday indicates experts from the three countries will, a few moments from now, hold their first preliminary meeting to prepare ground for the commission's meeting. The working agenda has not been revealed, but observers here in Havana believe that the tripartite meeting will center its discussions on South Africa's systematic violations of the agreement. [passage omitted] [end recording]

ANGOP Notes 18 Sep Kinshasa 'Mini-summit'

MB1309205789 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese 1930
GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Kinshasa, 13 September (ANGOP)—Zairian Foreign Minister Nguz a Karl-I-Bond has confirmed that a central and southern African mini-summit will take place in Kinshasa on 18 September.

He said the mini-summit would be preceded by a ministerial meeting 16-17 September.

Nguz a Karl-I-Bond told the press on his return from the Belgrade nonaligned conference that about eight heads of state from central and southern Africa will attend the meeting.

Mozambique

Chissano Opens People's Assembly Session 14 Sep

MB1409092389 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese
0900 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] The proceedings of the sixth session of the People's Assembly began in the country's capital this morning. Our correspondent reports:

[Reporter] As we report to you from the Congresses Hall, Marcelino dos Santos, chairman of the People's

Assembly, is giving an account of the activities that have been carried out by the People's Assembly since the last session.

Earlier, an 8-point agenda was approved. However, we are unable to give you details.

In his opening address of the sixth ordinary session of the People's Assembly, President Joaquim Chissano said that an assessment for the first 6 months of 1989 shows that there will be a general growth of 4 percent. President Chissano said that the government will make efforts to ensure that the country's general growth will achieve the planned 4.5 percent.

The Mozambican head of state said that there has been a positive impact on the defense sector following the introduction of the special national reconstruction tax at the previous session of the People's Assembly. The tax began to be collected in January 1989.

Chissano Grants Belgrade Interviews

MB1309144489 Maputo in English to Southern Africa
1110 GMT 13 Sep 89

[From the "Outlook Africa" program]

[Text] A leading Mozambican Catholic priest, Joaquim Mabuango, of the archdiocese of Maputo, has said the recent escalation of MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] attacks and atrocities against innocent civilians does not favor a climate of dialogue.

The Mozambican president, Joaquim Chissano reiterated in Belgrade, the Yugoslav capital, last week, where he attended the ninth nonaligned summit, that his government was ready to hold dialogue with the MNR if the bandits renounced violence and respected the existing order. However, it appears that the MNR is still bent on spreading havoc and destruction through terror acts in Mozambique.

The subject of peace in Mozambique was dealt with by President Chissano in a number of interviews in Yugoslavia last week. The Mozambican leader was also asked by a BBC journalist what he thought of the victory of the ruling National Party of F.W. de Klerk in South Africa's segregated elections last Wednesday:

[Begin recording] [Chissano] We expected that Mr de Klerk was going to win the elections, and we even expected that he would win the elections the way he won them for he is speaking about changes, and we expected they would have some who would oppose changes. We expected also that he would be opposed by some who also want changes, but who do not believe that he is capable of carrying them to the end. So, we expected this.

So, the results I have got nothing to be commented. But what we are expecting more is to see Mr de Klerk implementing what he promised us that he is going to do. So, I have no reason to doubt that he is not going to implement, but we want him to go into real reform, into

the right direction, to abolish apartheid, and to bring about conditions for a dialogue among all the South Africans, including the antiapartheid movements and groups, including the ANC [African National Congress], the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], and the trade unions, and other forces in South Africa.

[Unidentified reporter] Are you not worried that the apparent increase in votes for the right wing poses a danger for Mozambique and for the apparent South African continued assistance to Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], the MNR rebels?

[Chissano] Well, I don't know whether the support which occurred was due to the presence of more radical right-wingers or not.

In the past, there was a president who did not proclaim what Mr de Klerk is proclaiming, who was supported by all these right-wingers. Well, we started talks with him, changes in policies with him. So, I don't think that it's impossible for Mr de Klerk, and those who believe in the right things want to do something. That's not the excuse not to go forward and do correct things. One has to fight for the correct things.

[Reporter] Isn't there a danger though that your dialogue with South Africa and the dialogue with the other Frontline leaders with Mr de Klerk may have actually weakened his support inside South Africa? May have encouraged the extremists?

[Chissano] Well, if that happens, it will mean that the conditions are not yet created for the real change to come, and, therefore, the struggle will be more justified, and so the struggle will continue. So, we, on our part, we will continue to seek for all the peaceful solutions. The OAU is working for that; the ad hoc committee has met in Harare and issued a statement which I believe will be studied by Mr de Klerk and his friends, and we are ready to support the correct initiatives.

[Reporter] Do you think the time is right now for a round table meeting with Mr de Klerk, between the Frontline State leaders?

[Chissano] No, I think that it would be necessary first to take steps which would give us that reason to have that round table.

[Reporter] To what kind of steps are you referring?

[Chissano] Well, steps which would show that the process for dismantling apartheid has started. We cannot replace ourselves... [changes thought] we cannot take the place of the South African people. The South African people have to discuss the problem. We can only support.

So, when signs will be clear that the South African people are ready to talk among themselves, then we can join in.
[end recording]

President Chissano also spoke about the problems facing the peace process in Angola, during an interview with a journalist from the main weekly magazine of Yugoslavia.

[Begin recording] [Chissano] The fight is going on between the government forces of Angola and the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces. So, there is no peace.

The external factors for this war are not yet completely eliminated. So, efforts have to continue in order to bring peace. Some countries in Africa are involved in trying to bring peace, together with the government of Angola, in fact supporting the Angolan Government's initiatives.

As far as South Africa itself is concerned, we can see that there is still a lot of acts of violence. Even during this process of elections we have heard that there were acts of violence. Of course, this occurs because the vast majority of the people in South Africa are left out of the decision-making process in South Africa. So, there is no peace yet in South Africa.

In Namibia, there is not yet peace, although the process of implementation of Resolution 435 has started. It is being implemented with many acts of violence perpetrated by forces which want to maintain Namibia under the dependency of South Africa. So, there are many acts of violence with the Koevoet forces acting there, and, otherwise, with some disturbances to try and decrease the possibilities of a big victory of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] in the elections.

[Unidentified reporter] But at least you would admit that the peace process is starting and dialogue [words indistinct] and South Africa has changed at least a bit of its standpoints.

[Chissano] Yeah, and that's why I am saying that we are working for that peace to come. We are creating those conditions for peace, and there are forces in South Africa who are cooperative in that sense. Mr de Klerk is one of them, who showed signs that he wants to cooperate. We hope that now that he has been elected he will show further signs which would bring in the real conditions for dialogue among the South Africans themselves in South Africa, and also the real dialogue for peace with all other neighbor countries of South Africa.

[Reporter] So, this is a great change, that De Klerk came instead of Pieter Botha?

[Chissano] I don't know whether that will make it by itself a lot of difference. We have seen that the biggest change is that there is a new trend of thought in South Africa, which is appearing here and there, which may lead to changes. But we have no reason yet to stop demanding for changes both internally and externally, so that this trend of change be more real, more concrete, and practical.

[Reporter] And in respect to Nkomati Accord, does that change with De Klerk coming on the top in South Africa [words indistinct] something which revises the Nkomati Accord or not?

[Chissano] Well, I may say that Mr de Klerk has expressed a strong will to do all his best in order to stop any support to the bandits and to bring a more positive relationship between Mozambique and South Africa. Now, the question is whether he will be able to control all those forces which are against his own will, expressed will. We hope that he will be able to do that, but it will still have to be seen.

[Reporter] Do you believe that South Africa is still supporting Renamo?

[Chissano] There is support coming from South Africa, from South African territory, from the country itself, which we believe that it is not the government directly doing this. Mr de Klerk has also said, he has promised to see to it that no one in the government brings in that support to Renamo, but also to see to it that even outside forces, forces outside the government, do not do that. But, it is the responsibility of the South African Government, anyway, to see to it that from their territory no support comes to these bandits.

[Reporter] Would you discuss, would you negotiate with Renamo or not? I mean, in that summit of, for instance, Savimbi's UNITA is as well in the (?process) of negotiation with the Angolan Government. So, would you negotiate with Renamo or never?

[Chissano] We do not speak about negotiating. We speak about dialogue. We will enter into a dialogue with Renamo if they accept the principles which we have presented to them. We want them to accept those principles. If they accept those principles, then we will enter into dialogue on practical modalities. That's why I am precisising my term of dialogue on practical modalities, to bring peace and to normalize the life of all the Mozambican people, including those who are involved in Renamo.

[Reporter] But what are those principles that you are requiring?

[Chissano] Well, they are essentially that, first, we cannot recognize Renamo as a political force. It's a group, but which is not a political force for it does not sit on a social base in Mozambique, does not represent any wishes of the sector of the Mozambican people, but for those who know the history of Renamo, it is a creation to satisfy outside interests, which are against the interests of the very people of Mozambique. So far, by its nature, its history, is that it does not qualify to be a political force in Mozambique. But also, it doesn't qualify for its acts. The way they are acting shows that they are against the people, against the independence. So, it is not a national entity because, otherwise, they would not disrupt the economy of the country the way they are doing against everything and everyone. So, this is one of the principles.

Second is that our Constitution recognizes only one party in our country. We have a constitution, we have laws. So, we have institutions, and those institutions cannot be changed but only through a consensus, which we will reach through consultations of the masses of the people in the country. [end recording]

Mocumbi Begins Official Visit to Tunisia 12 Sep

*MB1309133789 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0800 GMT 13 Sep 89*

[Text] Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi began an official visit to Tunisia yesterday.

Pascoal Mocumbi yesterday left Rabat after a 2-day visit. Morocco promised to open an embassy in Maputo sometime this year.

The chief of Mozambican diplomacy on departing Morocco expressed his pleasure with talks in Rabat between the Mozambican and Moroccan delegations to establish bilateral cooperation.

Mocumbi carried a message from President Joaquim Chissano to King Hassan II.

South Africa Agrees To Reschedule Debt

*MB1309190589 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese
1730 GMT 13 Sep 89*

[Text] The South African Reserve Bank and the Bank of Mozambique today signed an agreement to reschedule the Mozambican debt, valued at 40 million rand.

The agreement was signed by (Jay Lombard), South African Reserve Bank deputy governor, and Bank of Mozambique Governor Eneas Comiche.

The South African Reserve Bank deputy governor says the debt will be rescheduled over a 20-year period, with two distinct stages. The first 10-year stage is a grace period, while in the second 10-year stage, the Bank of Mozambique will start to pay low interest rates. The Mozambican debt was contracted through loans channeled to the agricultural development field a number of years ago.

(Jay Lombard) also said that, through the agreement signed today, the South African Reserve Bank and the Bank of Mozambique intend to revitalize the Mozambican economy. (Jay Lombard) said in an interview with Radio Mozambique this afternoon that the World Bank and other international financial institutions should also consider that an economy like that of Mozambique needed assistance for its development.

Joint PRC Accord To Assist Enamel Enterprise

*MB1309135189 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Excerpt] A technical assistance accord on light industry was signed in Maputo today by our country and the PRC.

An accord was also signed by Metal-Mecanica management and the PRC's (Xengdu) enamel enterprise.

The accords include technical assistance to the Mozambique enamel enterprise in Beira City, which will form a joint venture with its PRC counterpart. [passage omitted]

Namibia**SWAPO's Nujoma Arrives in Windhoek 14 Sep**

*MB1409112289 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1115 GMT 14 Sep 89*

[Text] Windhoek, Sept 14, SAPA—SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] leader Mr Sam Nujoma arrived at Windhoek International Airport shortly before 1pm today to a tumultuous welcome.

Mr Nujoma returned home after nearly 30 years in exile.

He arrived on board an Ethiopian Airlines jet amidst the strictest security measures ever enforced at the airport.

Smiling broadly, the bearded leader embraced his aged mother, Mrs Helvi Kondombolo of the Ongandjera tribal area of Ovambo.

Mrs Kondombolo, 89, waited all morning to be reunited with her son after more than 30 years.

After disembarking, Mr Nujoma knelt down to kiss the ground of Namibia in a symbolic gesture of his affection for the country.

A number of SWAPO Politburo and Central Committee members, including acting SWAPO President Mr Nathaniel Maxuulili, greeted their leader on the tarmac.

News correspondents at the airport said Mr Nujoma was clearly overjoyed to be back in Namibia.

The SWAPO leader was wearing a dark suit, black tie and a white shirt with a dark stripe.

"I am very happy to be home," Mr Nujoma, 60, said.

With him on the aircraft from Luanda were SWAPO's Defence Secretary Mr Peter Mueshiyangue, and SWAPO's administrative secretary, Mr Moses Garoeb.

Delegates of the African Frontline States, the Organisation for African Unity, and diplomatic missions in Windhoek waited in the terminal to greet Mr Nujoma.

Several thousand singing SWAPO supporters gathered outside the airport premises to greet Mr Nujoma.

His movements for the rest of the day were not known but it was believed that Mr Nujoma would be driven from the airport to Katutura Township outside Windhoek to address an impromptu political rally.

Police Arrest Suspect in Lubowski Killing

*MB1409061389 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0610 GMT 14 Sep 89*

[Text] Windhoek Sept 14 SAPA—Police arrested a white man in Windhoek last night in connection with the assassination of prominent SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] member, Mr Anton Lubowski on Tuesday.

A police spokesman, Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand, told SAPA this morning the suspect, aged 50 and in possession of an Irish passport, was arrested in the city last night after extensive investigation by the SWA [South-West Africa] Police. He is believed to have arrived in Namibia from Cape Town.

The man is due to appear in court shortly, Inspector du Rand said.

No further details were available.

Mr Anton Lubowski, 37, the first white Namibian to publicly join the mainly black SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] liberation movement and a senior official in the organisation in Namibia, was ambushed and killed outside his Windhoek home on Tuesday night.

SWA [South-West Africa] Police launched an immediate manhunt for the attacker or attackers reported to have sped from the scene in a red VW Golf.

Roadblocks were thrown up at all exits from the city and a large reward offered for information leading to arrests for the murder concerning the attack.

Inspector du Rand said more arrests could be expected shortly.

Police Investigate IRA Link

*MB1409100289 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0959 GMT 14 Sep 89*

[Text] Windhoek Sept 14 SAPA—Police were investigating the possibility of an Irish Republican Army (IRA) connection in the killing of prominent SWAPO member, Mr Anton Lubowski, a police spokesman, Chief Inspector Kierie Rand, said in Windhoek today.

Mr Lubowski, 37, was gunned down with an AK47 automatic rifle outside his Windhoek home on Tuesday [12 Sep] night.

Last night, police in Windhoek arrested a 50-year-old Irish national in connection with the assassination.

Asked whether there were any indications at this stage of political motivations for the murder, Inspector du Rand said police were investigating several possibilities.

An IRA connection was one of them, he said.

SWAPO Issues Statement

*MB1309174089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1735 GMT 13 Sep 89*

[Text] Windhoek Sep 13 SAPA—SWA Police today conducted an intensive investigation into the killing of prominent SWAPO member Mr Anton Lubowski and offered a reward for information leading to the arrest of those responsible for his assassination.

The United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, said the tragic death of Mr Lubowski had shattered the peace that responsible Namibians were working so hard to preserve.

"I wish to assure Namibians that their desire for a peaceful transition to independence, too long delayed, cannot and will not be frustrated by the increasingly desperate acts of a few extremists," Mr Ahtisaari said in a statement today. UN police in Namibia were actively monitoring the investigation and expected the SWA Police to conduct a prompt and thorough investigation of the incident, Mr Ahtisaari added.

Mr Lubowski was ambushed at his home at about 8:50pm and gunned down by an unknown assassin shortly after Mr Lubowski had pushed a button to open a security gate to his house in Windhoek's Luxury Hill residential area.

In a statement tonight, SWAPO said the killing had undoubtedly been committed by enemies of Namibia's struggle for national liberation and in particular against SWAPO.

The statement pointed out that the assassins had struck less than two days before the homecoming of SWAPO's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, who is due to arrive at Windhoek International Airport tomorrow.

SWAPO said the only people who had access to AK-47 assault rifles—with which Mr Lubowski was thought to have been killed—were the South African Defense Force, the SWA Police and its former counter-insurgency unit, generally known as Koevoet.

The statement made no mention of access to AK-47 Soviet-made rifles by SWAPO guerrillas who fought against South African control of Namibia for 23 years.

Those who were responsible for demobilising and disarming the armed forces in Namibia in terms of the United Nations settlement plan "cannot escape the blame for the cold-blooded murder of Comrade Lubowski," the SWAPO statement said.

The remark was seen as reference to the UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia.

The SWAPO statement said that after Mr Lubowski had joined the organisation openly in 1984 he had been active in the political life of the country and had a key role in mobilising workers under the umbrella of the National Union of Namibian Workers.

"Namibia and its liberation movement SWAPO has lost a dedicated and tireless cadre, selfless fighter and skilled lawyer whose services his country will always miss."

SWAPO urged those responsible for the maintenance of law and order to ensure that the culprits were brought to book speedily.

Parties Condemn Assassination

*MB1309203889 Windhoek Domestic Service
in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 13 Sep 89*

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Martti Ahtisaari, UN special representative in South-West Africa/Namibia, said the assassination of Anton Lubowski had disturbed peace in the country for which all responsible inhabitants are striving.

Administrator General Louis Pienaar expressed his shock over the incident, calling it dastardly. [passage omitted]

Political parties in South-West Africa/Namibia that condemned the assassination are:

Action Christian National, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, the Federal Convention of Namibia, the National Patriotic Front, SWAPO, and the United Democratic Front.

Spokesman Confirms 5 Abducted, Taken to Angola

*MB1309155589 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1446 GMT 13 Sep 89*

[Text] Windhoek Sep 13 SAPA—Five Ovambo citizens in northern Namibia were abducted by a group of armed men and driven across the border into Angola, an official spokesman, Mr Gerhard Roux, revealed in Windhoek today.

He told a media briefing the five people were collecting wood with a truck about one kilometre south of the border yesterday morning when they were approached by four men armed with AK-47 automatic rifles.

One of the men, Mr Selile Kamusupi, said the men were dressed in SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] military uniforms.

The armed men forced the five into their vehicle and drove them across the border into southern Angola, Mr Roux said.

Mr Kamusupi, who managed to escape, made his way to the Ombalantu Police Station and reported the incident.

SWA [South-West African] Police accompanied by United Nations police monitors visited the scene of abduction and were shown the tracks leading across the border, Mr Roux said.

Voter Registration Figures Reach 99.1 Percent

*MB1309155089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1442 GMT 13 Sep 89*

[Text] Windhoek Sep 13 SAPA—Almost 100 per cent of the estimated number of voters qualifying to participate in Namibia's independence elections had registered, an official spokesman, Mr Gerhard Roux, said in Windhoek.

By last night a total of 671,972 people or 99.1 per cent of the prospective electorate had registered to take part in the November poll for a constituent assembly under United Nations supervision.

Mr Roux pointed out that the estimate of about 677,000 voters was based on the country's 1981 census plus a five per cent allowing for population growth.

Voter registration closes this Friday, September 15.

Zambia

*** Decontrol To Lead to Layoffs in Small Firms**

*34000780 Lusaka SUNDAY TIMES OF ZAMBIA
in English 9 Jul 89 p 1*

[Text] The Minister of Commerce and Industry Cde Otema Musuka has expressed concern about the trend of price increases in the country.

The minister yesterday summoned various parastatal managers to discuss the burning issue of rapid increase in prices of essential commodities.

After a three-hour meeting with the parastatal chiefs Cde Musuka said that the decontrol was intended to enable business houses to charge economic prices.

"The trend of price increases as reported in the Press is worrying. My ministry has now started discussions with business houses in order to bring about an orderly manner of the implementation of the decontrol policy.

"We are all aware that devaluation was effected forthwith which could have affected the price increases, but my ministry is calling for maximum co-operation from all parties concerned," Cde Musuka said.

He said that the essence of decontrol was to increase production in order to lead to the stabilisation of prices.

Meanwhile, the majority of small companies in Zambia will be forced to lay off their workers because they cannot meet the compulsory salary increases demanded by the State.

Managing director of Kitwe's Tiyese Engineering Cde Peter Matandiko said small companies would fail to meet the 30 and 50 percent increments because of profit limitations.

Several people who telephoned the TIMES complained that the Government had left them in the cold because greedily businessmen had taken advantage of the decontrol to make huge profits.

The Government should not have introduced devaluation and the decontrol of prices at the same time, because both bring about drastic increases in the cost of living and erosion in workers purchasing power.

National chairman of the Zambia Union of Financial Institutions and Allied Workers (ZUFIAW) Cde Benedict Chikoti said in Ndola:

"In view of the pending escalations in prices, the Government should urgently establish a poverty datum line and the minimum wage be fixed at K1,500."

He described the 30 and 50 percent increases as peanuts. Most of the workers now getting K300 to K500 will only have their salaries raised to 450 and K750.

He feared that if workers' wages were not raised there would be a lot of financial misconduct.

"If workers are not paid well, then the intentions of decontrol and devaluation will go to waste," he said.

Liberia

Justice Minister To Lead Coup Investigation Team

AB1309174089 Paris AFP in English 1320 GMT
13 Sep 89

[Text] Monrovia, Sept 13 (AFP)—Liberia's Justice Minister Jenkins Scott is to lead a high-powered joint security delegation to investigate alleged subversive acts in rural Nimba County, northeast of here, the INDEPENDENT NEWS daily reported Wednesday.

The paper said Mr. Scott and members of his delegation will leave Monrovia next week for Nimba County to investigate allegations that Superintendent Stephen Daniels had planned to hire dissidents to overthrow President Samuel Doe.

A chief from the Zoe-Geh clan in Nimba County, Jerry Gonyon, who made the accusation against Mr. Daniels, also charged that the superintendent had planned to pay the dissidents 150,000 U.S. dollars and hire unspecified number of aliens to help overthrow M. Doe.

In a letter to Commander-in-Chief Doe dated August 17, Clan Chief Gonyon also accused several "jujumen" (witchdoctors) of preparing "protection" for some plotters behind an abortive coup in November 1985.

The foiled coup was led by former Commanding General Thomas Quiwonkpa, a close associate of Commander-in-Chief Doe and one of 17 enlisted men who overthrew the civilian government of President William Tolbert in a bloody coup in 1980.

Gen. Quiwonkpa, who was killed in the coup attempt, brought in dissidents and aliens from neighboring Sierra Leone.

Internal Affairs Minister Edward Gackor, a native of Nimba County, has expressed dismay over the present situation in his county.

He said he and a team of top security officials had been mandated by the president immediately to investigate the accusation against Superintendent Daniels and forward findings to him for possible action.

In a separate development here, Finance Minister Emmanuel Shaw said Tuesday that Liberia had seen a "sharp decline in its revenues" since the beginning of the year because of "corrupt practices within the revenue services."

Mr Shaw told a meeting of customs personnel that the government could not continue to lose needed funds due to "dishonesty."

Warning that "the party is over," he said appropriate measures would be taken against employees caught in corrupt practices.

Niger

New National Security Director General Appointed

AB1209213089 Niamey Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] The chairman of the Higher Council for National Orientation, head of state, General Ali Saibou, signed today, 12 September 1989, a decree of nomination. Thus Mr Moussa Harouna, grade 2 step 1 magistrate, has been appointed director general of national security to replace Major Abba Kyari, who has been assigned other duties.

Nigeria

* Two-Party State in Third Republic Explained

34000777a Lagos THE GUARDIAN
in English 10 Aug 89 pp 1-2

[Article by Adeyinka Ogun: "Nwosu Replies To Critics of Two-Party System"]

[Text] A vote was cast yesterday in Abuja for the government's imposition, as the critics claim, of a two-party system on the Third Republic, when National Electoral Commission (NEC) chairman Professor Humphrey Nwosu defended it as being no impediment to democracy.

The option has been widely condemned as an attempt to stifle democracy and enthrone autocracy.

Nwosu, who observed that the solution to Nigeria's problems was not in ideological belief, but the citizenry's commitment, described the move as "the best solution to ethnicity and primordial lopsidedness".

To solidify his stand, the chief electoral officer, who is on a three-day tour of the Federal Capital Territory, drew support from history, recalling that similar landmark decisions had been taken by great countries, such as Von Bismarck's Germany and King Henry's Britain.

"There comes a time in the history of a nation when the leadership has to take a decisive decision to overcome the nation's peculiar problem and to set the nation on the path of stable, self-regenerating growth and development. It happened in Germany, Britain and the United States", Nwosu said.

In fact, he did not see the two-party option as just a solution to nearly three decades of political turbulence, but "a historical necessity, viewed in the context of our historical reality".

The imposition of the two-party system has been widely attacked by prominent citizens, with the latest criticism coming from the Ikemba of Nnewi, Chief Emeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu who, in his book, *Because I am Involved*, saw the system as "a gradual drift towards an authoritarian one-party state".

Ruminating over the fall of the earlier republics, Nwosu concluded that their undoing was that the political parties were centred around personalities who were only able to mobilise ethnic support.

The two-party system, he reasoned, would finally end ethnic politics and provide a congenial political atmosphere.

He shed more light on the on-going verification of claims by political associations, saying the exercise was based on the claims made by the 13 groups as at July 19.

Mainly, the exercise is to verify the membership size, spread and administrative organisation of each applicant association.

"We are interested in assessing the membership of the political associations at the grassroot, especially at local government areas and ward levels across the country, not merely in local or regional strongholds", Nwosu said.

He expressed satisfaction with the performances of the monitoring teams in all the states he has visited so far.

Nwosu urged the press not to publish the results of the verification in bits but to wait until the commission released the whole thing.

This, according to him, is to boost the confidence of the electorate in NEC.

On the sudden dissolution of councils by the government, the NEC chief said the measure was to enable the chairmen and councillors participate fully in partisan politics.

*** Big Money Said To Pervade 1992 Politics**

34000783b Lagos *THISWEEK* in English
7 Aug 89 pp 8-9, 11-13

[Article by Tony Eluemunor with Raff Egbu, Tunde Ogundare and Dapo Ajanaku: "Still a Matter of Cash"]

[Text] As in the Second Republic, money may determine who gets what in the politics of the Third Republic.

The National Electoral Commission (NEC) may console itself that it has tried. But one of the evils of Nigeria's political past—money politics—is still very much alive. The political game is a matter of cash. It is like in a classical Greek tragedy: the more the protagonist—often remarkably energetic, good intentioned and with rare leadership qualities—strives to flee from an evil, the deeper he sinks into it. And the end is often disastrous. So it is with NEC that engineered a most stringent registration requirement for the parties to erase tribal and money based politics. For now, it does not seem to be working.

The return of money politics became evident a few days after the ban on politics was lifted on May 3. On May 20, the Liberal Convention (LC) was hosted in Owerri by one of its financial backbones, chief Onwuka Kalu. The prestigious Concorde Hotel was fully reserved for delegates, while food and drinks came just for the asking—at

Kalu's expense. Sources close to Kalu say Kalu spent about 1 million naira to host the Owerri meeting. Before close of deliberations, the party became about 5 million naira richer, as chiefs Michael Ibru, Sonny Odogwu, Gabriel Igbinedion, Abba Gana and others were said to have pledged 1 million naira each. This came barely a month after the association, still in embryo, took over the 10-storey Zaranda Hotel in Bauchi for one weekend for its April convention, courtesy of Alhajis Sule Gambo and Ibrahim Mantu. For about 40,000 naira, the entire fleet of Bauchi State Mass Transit buses was chartered to ferry delegates from and to Jos airport. The top echelon of the LC reads like a who is who in business and financial circles. Among them are Chief Rasheed Williams of Lombard Insurance and Chief Sylvester Agbareh, a quiet millionaire from Bendel State, who of late has been writing newspapers articles, perhaps signifying his intention to come out into the political arena.

Until June 24, the Republic Party (RP) had consistently given the impression of a poor party. But it shed that mask that Saturday, at Minna township stadium in Niger State. The occasion was the launching of the state's chapter of the party, but it almost turned into a national convention. At the end of the meeting, 2.3 million naira was reportedly put into the party coffers by the erstwhile local government council chairmen and councillors.

In the Nigerian National Congress (NNC), there is Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu, who, it is believed, has been spending ever so freely for the party. There is also Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, the Sultan of Sokoto, whose sympathy for the Federalists, the forerunner of NNC, is well known. Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi, a potential presidential candidate of the party also has considerable money muscles. The Peoples Solidarity Party (PSP) has its godfathers: Chief Segun Osoba, Dr. Abel Ubeku, Alhaji Mohammed Arzika among others and a godmother, Mrs. Hannah Dideoulu Awolowo—all silently financing activities of the association.

Fund raising methods and manner of spending vary from one party to the other. In the PSP, for instance, funds were raised through donations and sale of party cards, manifestoes, buttons and clips. At one of its meetings, *THISWEEK* gathered that it was able to raise 200,000 naira. But the main source of its income is the levy it imposed on party members on state basis. Bendel for example was levied 250,000 naira, an amount sources say was paid by one of the pillars of the party in the state, Dr. Abel Ubeku, until recently, the managing director of Guinness Nigeria Limited. *THISWEEK* learnt that the levy imposed on Lagos, Imo and Anambra states were more than Bendel's. Although the exact figures grossed could not be ascertained, it is believed to run into millions.

One factor that distinguishes the PSP from the other big associations is that it is the one that saw the need to levy its members. It is also the only party where funds are remitted from the states to Lagos, its present headquarters. In other parties, it is often the other way round.

Whatever strategy it adopted to raise funds seemed to have worked for it as the group is by no means poor. So far, it remains the only association that has printed its manifesto in booklets and has translated it into various languages. Already, it has purchased some cars and has spent up to 100,000 naira in renovating its national headquarters in Yaba, Lagos, and has acquired a new national headquarters building at Abuja. Its image is being spruced up by an Ikeja-based advertising and public relations firm.

Perhaps, the group that tends to symbolise money politics is the LC. Members have never been levied. Maybe there is no need for that. The party remains the richest of all, thanks to its money bags. It remains about the only one of the big four that routinely sends money from the centre, Lagos, to the states. When it discovered that it had not sank its roots deep in Sokoto State, it sent in about 200,000 naira to open up offices in the local government areas. Also when the Kaduna State chapter was launched in late June, officials from Lagos had to go there with an additional 60,000 naira to cover expenses. And immediately the ban on politics was lifted, it handed out 50,000 naira to its publicity committee for public relations job.

The contributions of the millionaires in the LC have often been in kind. No. 117 Adeleke Adedoyin, home of Chief Igbinedion, has become the associations' situation office. In addition, delegates to any meeting there are assured of sumptuous meals. The Okada Airline proprietor who is also the LC's grand patron has probably contributed the highest amount of money to the association. He again and again allowed the party free usage of his 100-seater aircraft from the Okada fleet to transport party officials and journalists to state chapter launchings. Also, towards the registration deadline, he gave out a 12-seater aeroplane to collect registration materials from the states. The Bendel State secretariat of the party is also housed in a building donated to it by the Esama of Benin.

Also placed at the use of the LC is the No. 6 Louis Solomon Street, Victoria Island, Lagos house, owned by the Ibrus. Apart from that, the Ibrus have promised the party some vehicles. So too has Chief Odogwu who in early May hosted a full convention of Bendel LC at his S.I.O. Industries, Asaba. The convention was said to have cost him more than 100,000 naira. Chief Onwuka Kalu too has been bank rolling the eastern zone of the party and his Onwuka Interbiz Group, Ikoyi, Lagos office once turned into temporary party headquarters.

While the PSP keeps a comprehensive account of its income and expenditure, it is doubtful if the LC computes its expenses—or income for that matter—as the rich individuals seem to spend straight from their pockets on the party's behalf. Moreover, its medium level officials seem to have little respect for the naira they seem to spend so freely.

In the NNC, Iwuanyanwu has continued to shine like a beacon—of money that is. Apart from his large financial

contributions, said to run into millions, his Victoria Island, Lagos residence is almost over-shadowing the party's national headquarters as a meeting place. The NNC's financial strategy is simple: each state should take care of itself while the national headquarters will do likewise. It is only in extreme cases that Lagos will come to a state's help. But as no mandatory contributions have so far been levied on members, the party leaders both at state and national levels have been shouldering the costs as followers come to them for everything. Often, individuals state chapter officials had come to the aid of Lagos as was the case when Reverend Hyde Onwuagwuluchi who has been engaged in "money-is-no-problem" politics in Anambra State paid 200,000 naira leasing fee for the NNC's national headquarters at the late Bobby Benson's former music store on Ikorodu Road, Onipanu, Lagos.

The All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) has definitely found a messiah and deliverer in party leader, Alhaji Garba Hamza. Although Hamza did not readily agree that his singular contribution to the party's purse was significant, he however told *THISWEEK* that it was a "selfless task." He has mobilised all the resources of his group of companies under the Hamza Holdings umbrella for the propagation of ANPP's beliefs. Hamza's fisheries office along Kofu Abayomi Street, Apapa has been serving the purpose of a secretariat with the hope to move to a recently acquired apartment at Apapa Road for same purpose. *THISWEEK* gathered that the sports-loving business magnate had in the course of meeting NEC's registration requirements put down about 3.7 million naira in addition to the use of his company and personal vehicles for movement of party officials.

For the others, it has not been that smooth sailing. The Republic Party (RP) has hardly been associated with the money-bags and even its June 24 naira haul at Minna received little publicity. To survive, *THISWEEK* learnt, RP had to adopt some drastic measures. Part of it included levying of the local government chairmen and councillors who constitute the bulk of party membership. Chairmen were made to pay 1,000 naira, supervisory councillors 200 naira, while ordinary councillors paid 100 naira. This however, was the official ceiling, but in principle, members were encouraged to exceed the target. Many did.

In addition, the party's registration form was sold for 1 naira. To make sure a substantial sum was realised, chairmen and councillors were said to have subtly encouraged members of their constituencies who wanted on favour or the other to purchase the forms. It was not forced on them but the fact that most wanted something made the offer appear more like the devil's alternative. *THISWEEK* gathered that the sum of about 30,000 naira was collected throughout the federation through this means.

However, this money did not reach the national secretariat early enough, forcing some of the national leaders present at a last minute meeting held at the Shomolu Local Government Area office of Mr. Adeniyi Ogunbase, a few days to NEC's deadline, to tax themselves to make

up the 50,000 naira registration fee. Perhaps that accounted for the cry by some party officials that the Republican Party was broke.

Overall, RP's survival has had much to do with the prudence with which it managed the available resources. Conventions and party meetings were sparingly held while on such occasions, individuals and delegates bore the cost of their accommodation, transport and feedings. And for the registration preparations, officials claim that only 95,000 naira was spent outside the registration fee. More instructively, LG chairmen were said to have used the facilities of their councils to offset some of the costs of collating the registration materials required by NEC.

Mr. Oghene Ego, the association's spokesman on July 25 indicated that the party was broke. He said the party was looking forward to rich patrons, who he said must however, have been cleared by NEC. Ego whose statement contradicts his earlier position of the party on millionaire Nigerians said by that date, the association was finding it difficult paying staff employed in the local, state and national offices. Like some of the other smaller associations, the RP is yet to show any trait of ostentation except, for the Niger branch where many local government chairman tried to outdo one another, spewing money freely as the party was launched June 24.

THISWEEK learnt that the cash-strapped Nigerian Labour Party (NLP), for a little under 100,000 naira, processed all its materials for the registration exercise. To raise funds, the association relied heavily on the membership registration forms which sold for 1 naira each, but it was not yet determined how much was realised through this method since a letter only went out to states on July 24, asking for the accounts of all the money collected.

According to Dr. Frederick Fasheun, NLP's national chairman who said that all workers were by right members of the party, NLP also relied on donations from "friendly people" to make up the registration fee. He said that the highest figure realised through this option was 1,000 naira. The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) once organised a gala night for the association during which a little under 5,000 naira was realised. According to Fasheun, the party's policy of raising its registration fee of 50,000 naira "within decent means" saw it printing Love Labour Party coupons in denominations of 1 naira, 5 naira, and 10 naira. By July 25, he said, the accurate sum raised could not be known because the exercise was still continuing.

The delegates to NLP meetings were always taken care of by their local branches and those workers who helped in the compilation of the registration materials worked gratis. So far, no emolument has been paid out to the administrative staff manning the offices because, as Fasheun put it, "they have just started work" and were yet to complete the first month. He said to cut cost,

official messages have to be taken across the country through voluntary services offered by such bodies as the drivers' union.

By June 28, the Lagos branch of the association began an intensive hawking of party coupons in public places in an effort geared at swelling the party's purse and raising NEC's registration fee. Barely three days after the operation began, the exercise was said to have raked in the sum of 18,500 naira with a further hope that by July 7, when collection of forms began, the 50,000 naira mark would have been covered, or even surpassed. Doubts as to whether this eventually happened was further raised when Fasheun told THISWEEK that "some friends of the party had to bail us out." But he refused to mention the friends. THISWEEK also gathered that five state branches of the association which were financially buoyant agreed at the June 7 Lagos meeting to help by contributing 5,000 naira each.

Added to this is the speculation making the rounds in labour circles that NLP might be richer than it has made people to believe. This opinion is fuelled by the allegation that some of the affiliate unions must have been made to pay some amount as levy. Fasheun, however, denied this saying: "If we had levied them (workers), we would not have complained of lack of funds." By law, union funds must not be used for party purposes.

A party like the Peoples Front of Nigeria (PFN) is like a closed shop. Except for the assumed underground role of Major-General Shehu Yar'Adua (rtd), not much is known of other financiers of the association. It was more than a mere coincidence that the NEC's registration fee was paid by a bank draft purchased at Habib (Nigeria) Bank Limited, Yar'Adua's bank.

The impact of money on the new political dispensation was exhibited on July 19, the deadline for the aspiring political parties to file their applications. First to arrive was the PSP with four lorry loads of registration materials, including a list of members collected nationwide. Ten hours after the association's arrival, NEC officials were still receiving and taking inventory of the materials.

Two hours after the PSP convoy entered the NEC compound, the NNC emerged with eight lorries. The show of strength took a new turn with the arrival of the LC two hours before the close of the day's business. The association brought its registration materials in 22 buses, each bearing materials from the 21 states and Abuja—and labelled accordingly. The other member of the "Big Four," the PFN had submitted their own trucks-full of materials two days earlier.

For the remaining nine of the 13 groups that filed application for registration, not many could have afforded to hire lorries for more than 600 naira a day. But then they did not even have lorry loads of membership list to tender. The United Nigeria Democratic Party (UNDP) for instance, simply sent in two half empty cartons. Also, from another "small" party, the Nigeria Peoples Welfare Party (NPWP), materials came in a

procession of 30 delegates each bearing a file containing list of party members. They had walked all of two kilometres from the Igboere Street, Lagos law chambers of their leader, which doubles as the party headquarters.

While the officials of the delegates saw the lorry load of materials brought in by PSP and NNC and stood still for a few seconds: stunned the big parties came in noticeable motorcades and their presence triggered off a flurry of activities among journalists as camera flash lights popped, the officials of small parties arrived unsung and unheralded. In the main, the materials tendered seemed proportional to the parties' purses.

It has been the stated intention of government to play down the effect of money in politics. Already, some people, and many of the smaller political groups, have begun to bemoan the reemergence of money politics. Chief Gilbert Akinyede, secretary-general of the NPWP who said his group's 50,000 naira registration fee was "a gift from God," took just one look at the truck loads of registration materials some parties brought to NEC office, looked at the single file in his hand and cried out: "This requirement is only an invitation to plunder the treasury." He meant that only a party supported by fat cats can only hope to meet what he termed the utopian requirements demanded by NEC.

Chief Fe'a Akinrinsola of the National Union Party (NUP), who incidentally is the only declared presidential candidate thus far was more forthcoming. He warned NEC to beware of the parties that invested millions of naira in the registration exercise. He said that "if they are registered, it would be the greatest tragedy to befall us." His reasoning: "It certainly means we have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing because when associations commence the journey towards registration by initially spending millions which will not be refunded, the obvious deduction, going by the political history, is that once they are in power, they will engage in corrupt practices to regain money spent."

Akinrinsola said that though NEC guidelines require a lot of money to meet, he does not believe that it calls for reckless spending as some parties have been doing. His NUP was one of the parties that did not bring lorry loads of registration materials to NEC. In fact, he showed with only two cartons.

Chief Victor Amobil, NNC chairman for Anambra State points out the big spending has been occasioned in the main by NEC's most stringent requirements. He told **THISWEEK** that "the military has played into the hands of the fat cats, because implementing NEC guidelines in the field was a difficult and very expensive activity, thus the undue influence of money in politics returned with little resistance." He explained that out of sympathy for those who have contributed funds to party activities, many who will not normally be accommodated in political parties are receiving princely treatment.

To Amobi, one way the government can redress the problem is to give the two parties that will eventually be

registered sums of money substantial enough for them to pay back the money received from individuals, otherwise the influence bought by their money will endure. He wants government to go beyond building party secretariats but also to furnish party offices and provide vehicles "down to local government levels." In addition, he urged government to peg donations from individuals to parties to non-intimidating amounts. This is because, according to him, "the unfortunate impression is being created that leadership can be bought with money and I doubt very much that they are bringing this big money just to come and serve."

How much did it cost the big parties to prepare application materials. According to reports credited to Dr. Doyin Okupe, LC's deputy national publicity secretary, his party spent about 6 million naira to meet the requirements. Officials of the other big parties said they had not yet totalled the expenses at both the state and national levels. But there are indications that the figures would not be far from LC's.

NEC, with the aim of making any aspiring political group very national, required that the associations have functional offices in every state and every local government area with a full staff, including an accountant and an auditor. In addition, every group filing for registration should submit a list (in 25 copies) of registered members from the more than 2,000 wards in the country.

NEC also required the parties to keep a passport photograph of each registered member. Thus to meet the basis NEC requirements, plus holding of elections at the ward, local government, state and national levels, every political group no matter how prudent, would have required millions of naira.

In 1979, Federal Electoral Commission (FEDEC) guidelines required parties to maintain offices in only two-thirds of the federation. And while registration fee in 1979 was 1,000 naira, it became 50,000 naira this time. Beyond that, the groups had only two and a half months to attract membership, raise funds and set up offices. So, it appears that only groups with affluent members were able to raise the funds required for the mammoth requirement.

Apart from meeting NEC requirements directly, the party chieftains have had to bear other contingency costs. For instance, one NEC chief complained that it is still in "some people's mind that party big-wigs should pay for every expense;" you transport them, feed and accommodate them on occasions.

The money influence in politics was mentioned in President Ibrahim Babangida's address at the **GUARDIAN** Anniversary Lecture on July 24. The president was worried that "financial element of power dominates all the associations," hoping that NEC will design more guidelines to check the influence of money.

But to Samuel Ade Oshisanya, protem chairman of the Nigerian Socialist Party (NSP), the president spoke too

late. He added that the president must have studied the NEC guidelines and so must have known that money would play a "large part" in politics within the transition programme. Oshisanya whose party did not file registration papers, and is now working towards a merger condemned the 50,000 naira non-refundable application fee as "ridiculous." He said that the money influence has got so much weight that the whole registration exercise so far should be cancelled "if the ill must be arrested." He added that the two months given us was too short to raise the amount required to meet NEC guidelines.

Some party stalwarts have begun to grumble that the monied men have been buying up the posts. In the LC for instance, the barons did not contest elections into party offices; but they made sure they pushed in their own candidates. It is widely believed that Mallam Abba Dabo, the LC chairman was sponsored by a cabal of monied men from Kano, while Ojo Maduekwe who emerged as secretary is a surrogate of millionaire Onwuka Kalu. Felix Ibru represented the Ibru clan. Chief (Dr) Anthony Mba, a national vice-chairman of the LC denied the money influence allegation in his party. He said that the party is neither for the poor only nor the rich, exclusively, adding that party chairman, Mallam Dabo is a young man of 37 and is no millionaire and is nobody's stooge or candidate. Mba pointed out that he himself is no millionaire and did not contest on anybody's ticket. To him, the LC is the most democratised group since contestants had to stand up and deliver their manifestoes before voting began and thereafter openly counted and announced their opponent's votes.

To Dr. Asikpo Essien-Ibok, a spokesman for the PSP, one of the big four parties accused of playing money politics, his party is a mass movement party "so money plays minimal role." He said that PSP has not relied on money alone to gain the national spread it now enjoys but that its ideals appeal to the people. "That is why people have been willingly spending their own money for it. Money may help in making the works (registration attempt) smooth and easy. Still you may have all the money but without the followship, there is no party." Despite PSP's denial that wealthy members exert undue influence on the party, officials readily admitted that the personal contribution of members helped the party to put together the mountain of materials submitted to NEC. Party members, in addition to donations, provided vehicles and other logistical support for the exercise.

What is the effect of money in politics? The fear is that it makes a mockery of democracy as it may induct people to vote "bank accounts" instead of ideas, thus ushering in the wrong hands into leadership positions—party and governmental. Furthermore, the money donated to parties at this stage may be viewed as investments by the donors who will later demand party patronage just as they demand leadership positions for themselves and their candidates.

Another argument is that the rich may simply finance party activities to smoothen their own rise to political

power—for reasons no more noble than pure ego. And if money is allowed to play unlimited roles, the rich can then simply "buy" power, thus not giving the less affluent any competitive chance. But the aspect that really bothers Nigerians the most is the relationship between party financing and corruption through the award of contracts. This was one of the ills of the Second Republic and it led to the inflation of contracts.

The relationship between money politics and corruption seems like that of chicken and egg. It is not really clear which came first in the country or which leads to the other. But one thing is certain: just like the chicken and egg, one is a promise that there will be the other. And that is why the Third Republic politics should not be allowed, as in the Second Republic, to degenerate into money and a money only game. Otherwise it will end up just like the previous Republics.

* Dangers of Rising Foreign Debt Examined

34000783a Ikeja NEWSWATCH in English
7 Aug 89 pp 9-12, 20

[Article by Soji Akinrinade with Joseph Ode, Stephen Agwudagwu, Godson Ukpoko, Abiola Oloke, Janet Mba, Hycinth Elueme and Marshal Akpan Okop: "Chained to the Bomb"]

[Text] As Nigeria's debt rises to \$30 billion, there is the fear that the country may, in fact, be sitting on a keg of gunpowder.

No issue is more important to most African countries today than the debt problem. It is a US \$230 billion (1642.2 billion naira) problem which has been on the front burners on the continent for nearly half a decade. It is an intractable problem that demands an urgent resolution if the sub-Saharan debtor nations will return to the path of economic growth. Last week, prime attention was once again focused on the debt problem by African leaders attending the 50th summit of the Organisation of African Unity, OAU, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

How worrisome the debt problem has become is clearly expressed in a report prepared by the 49-member organisation. The report, considered by the leaders last week, says in a nutshell that "chances for eventually meeting the ever-increasing debt burden are nil under the present circumstances." The report revives a four-year-old African plan which calls for a 10-year moratorium on debt service and payment, but which also wants an international conference to discuss the issue. What the OAU really wants is to reach an agreement on a total maximum level of debt service which African countries would eventually pay, as a percentage of their exports. Another key element is for the conference to convert all future official bilateral loans into grants or low-interest debt whose repayments will be spread over 50 years. The call for international conference has had no support from the creditors in the past four years, and is unlikely to do so now, especially in light of the rejection of a similar

proposal by the leaders of the seven leading industrialised nations at a meeting they held in Paris, France, early July. The proposal has been made by the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev.

No matter, Nigeria's own proposal for resolving the issue is equally important. As explained by Augustus Aikhomu, chief of general staff and leader of Nigeria's delegation to the OAU summit in Addis Ababa last week, the proposal is three-pronged. It calls for an outright cancellation of all official debt, which should be carried out on the basis of the general poverty level of the debtor nations; the establishment of a pool of financial resources through which the World Bank and other major monetary organisations, as well as donor nations, can provide financial assistance to distressed African nations for servicing debts they cannot reschedule or cancel; establishment of a debt purchasing agency under the control of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, IMF, to buy back, at about 80 percent discount, existing debt of African countries owed to commercial banks. According to Aikhomu, such transactions could be financed partly through voluntary contributions from developed countries and also with some specialised World Bank and IMF facilities which may or may not have conditions attached to them.

Nigeria's new approach obviously betrays a new sense of desperation even though it reflects the thinking of many economists in the nation. Many of them have been suggesting outright cancellation of nearly all the debts, while some others have been advocating outright repudiation. The government, however, had, at an official level, given no indication that it was pursuing other alternatives different from the traditional debt management methods. Olu Falae, a leading proponent of the structural adjustment programme, SAP, has, in fact, always reiterated Nigeria's moral duty to renegotiate and pay back the debt. Privately, however, many officials have conceded that "some of the debts will simply have to be written off by the creditors."

The growing impatience of Nigerians, coupled with the riots over the failure of SAP to ameliorate the economic misery that has been the lot of Nigerians since 1986, many economists feel must have prompted this new line of thinking by government. What may have also been considered is that bits and pieces of the new approach are embedded in the United States Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady's plan announced in March this year.

Essentially, the Brady Plan is a move toward debt reduction. It encourages creditor banks to "work with debtor nations to provide a broader range of alternatives for financial support, including a greater effort to achieve both debt and debt service reduction and to provide new lending" voluntarily. The plan also calls on creditors to negotiate with debtors "to accelerate sharply the pace of debt reduction and to pass the benefits directly to the debtor nations."

Only last week, Mexico became the first country to reach a debt reduction agreement under the Brady Plan. After three months of hard bargaining, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari announced to his nation that its creditor banks had agreed to a 35 percent reduction of the \$53 billion medium- and long-term commercial bank debt. As he said, "Mexico can now leave the debt crisis behind."

The crisis is still real in Nigeria and it is like a time-bomb, slowly ticking, trying to explode. Africa's most populous nation, is also its biggest (sizewise) debtor. As at December 31, 1988, Nigeria's total external indebtedness stood at \$30.5 billion, according to World Bank figures. During the first quarter of this year, Nigeria spent nearly 50 percent, \$530.5 million, of its \$1.82 billion foreign earnings to service the debt. Debt service for the year is provisionally fixed at \$2.3 billion or 34 percent of the expected \$6.679 total foreign exchange earnings.

Efiong Essien, a consulting economist for GUARDIAN publications, told NEWSWATCH last week that such high debt service ratio is an indication of how serious and dangerous the situation is. He said the debt burden has become a poverty burden. His thesis is quite clear. With a staggering amount of money spent to service the debt, less money will eventually be available to the country to import enough raw materials to enhance industrial growth and promote capital growth, without which the economy itself cannot survive.

Nevertheless, how Nigeria, a nation that was once awash with petro-naira, a nation that emerged from a devastating 30-month civil war owing as little as possible, can have such a reversal of fortune is baffling. Yet, debt, in plain economics, understandable by the layman, simply means that Nigeria's imports, during the years the debts were piled up, grew at a faster pace than the exports. In effect, money had to be borrowed to finance imports. Nigeria simply lived above its means.

The situation would probably have not been so dire had the nation's leaders not been kobo wise, naira foolish. The first jumbo loans taken by the Obasanjo administration in 1977/78 were essentially to finance such projects as refineries in Warri and Kaduna, ports, pipelines and storage tanks. And even though the interest on the loans were the problematic kind, Olusegun Obasanjo still left a healthy balance of payments surplus which made the debt not too much of a burden to the economy. However, the pattern of borrowing changed dramatically during the civilian regime as a substantial percentage of loans were consumption-based and owed to creditor banks in different clubs. They were short-term credits whose repayment periods were short, between five and eight years, and whose interest rate is floating, a generally dangerous thing, since interest rate in the international market in the past few years has been on the rise.

Essien estimates that between 60 and 70 percent of Nigeria's external loans are short-term credits. He also says that even the medium- and long-term loans which were secured bilaterally (government to government) and multilaterally

(from IMI and World Bank), whose interest rate is low and fixed and repayment period spread over many years, "were applied to projects that were of no relevance to the economy. Some of the projects were abandoned uncompleted, while interest accrued."

In essence, loans that were supposed to have been income-generating, so as to effect repayment, have become worthless and a burden. This is so primarily because of lack of the bureaucracy's commitment; lack of local technical expertise; political considerations and insecurity on the part of foreign technical partners who, according to Essien, "are more interested in their gains or rip-offs than ensuring the proper execution of the projects."

A ready example is steel development. Even though the Delta Steel Company in Aladja, Bendel State, was completed about six years ago, the local support facilities to make it function efficiently and profitably are still lacking. The company is still a source of drain to the economy in that its inputs still have to be imported. Yet over a billion dollars was spent on it. The rolling mill, sited all over the country for political considerations, hardly benefit from it. The situation at the Ajaokuta steel company is even more pathetic. Over 5 billion naira has been spent on it, yet it still looks like money down the drain. A World Bank report on the complex released this year asked Nigeria to completely abandon the project, even though the nation would have to repay the loans it took to finance the projects. Other similar white elephant projects litter the country and emphasise the hopelessness of Nigeria's debt situation.

The Central Bank of Nigeria's, CBN, own account gives a clearer picture of the debt profile of the nation. Nigeria owes the Paris Club, as at December 1988, \$12,927 billion, the highest in the debt portfolio; \$5,835 billion is owed the London Club; \$4,780 billion is owed in promissory notes; \$3,067 billion is owed in such a multilateral organisations as the IMF and World Bank, while the remaining \$2,674 billion represents other loans, including those taken bilaterally, that is, from other donor countries. The CBN, therefore, puts the debt at \$29,282 billion. This is in contrast to the IMF and World Bank figure of \$30.5 billion.

How much Nigeria owes has been a controversial issue. For the past five years, the nation has been trying to find out how much the debt is and certify claims of creditor banks, especially those from the London and Paris clubs. Nigeria has a bad record as far as record-keeping is concerned. And this is the main reason for the controversy over the size of the nation's external debt. Even when the record is kept, it is always highly unreliable. Nigeria demonstrated its patent disregard for record-keeping last year when controversy broke out over how much was owed the IMF in subscription fee. Although the amount was eventually put at \$3.7 billion, an embarrassed nation learnt in dismay how no records were kept on the subscription fee (NEWSWATCH June 20, 1988). It took a ruling by the presidency to finally resolve the issue.

It is, therefore, no wonder that most Nigerians are sceptical about the size of the debt, especially because some loans were taken without due regard for procedure and, in some cases, without reference to the CBN. The situation has been such that the federal government has had to hire the Chase Manhattan Bank, in the US, to help Nigeria authenticate claims by creditors. Falae himself told media executives last June that \$4 billion claims have to be repudiated by the nation because they could not be certified and were doubtful. What this means, therefore, is that Nigeria's debt should actually be slightly above \$25 billion rather than nearer the \$30 billion mark as projected by the CBN. Nigerian bankers, however, are wont to believe the IMF/World Bank figures. But theirs is an exercise in self-preservation since many of the loans were, contracted through them.

Whatever the size of the nation's external debt, the fact remains that what has been happening within the economy in the past few years are good indicators of the repercussions of indebtedness. In order to contain the debt situation, succeeding Nigerian governments have instituted various traditional debt management methods. The Buhari regime, for example, employed the counter-trade and a high debt service posture, a situation which saw the ratio rise to nearly 44 percent in 1985. When President Ibrahim Babangida took over power in late 1985, debt management strategy changed.

Babangida has since 1986 introduced a structural adjustment programme which has employed the drastic devaluation of the naira to discourage imports, but encourage exports. The traditional theory is that, by doing so, the country will earn more foreign exchange, especially from non-oil sources, to meet debt repayment schedule. The problem is that other measures in the economy have militated against any sharp increases in foreign exchange receipts from non-oil sources. In fact, the loopholes in the system have encouraged sharp practices, including high incidence of capital flight.

The government has also intensified efforts at rescheduling the debt. Abubakar Alhaji, minister of state for budget and planning, is the czar of the debt-rescheduling exercise. As of now, Nigeria has been able to reschedule a total of \$11.6 billion of the debt—\$5.7 billion, rescheduled with the London Club, and \$5.9 billion, with the Paris Club. This, as Oladele Olashore, former managing director, First Bank of Nigeria Limited, sees it, has eased out maturities over periods ranging from four to 22 years. The rescheduled debts also have periods of grace.

There are drawbacks, however, as some economists point out. To them, debt rescheduling actually provides only temporary breathing space. According to Olashore at a seminar by Perspective Planning last June, "rescheduling has a major flaw in that it actually increases total stock of debt to be repaid by the debtor nation. Therefore, it is akin to creating a bigger problem that is then postponed to a future date." Essien takes this argument a step further. He told NEWSWATCH last week that "the real danger in debt rescheduling is that it exposes

your nakedness to the creditor. The creditor knows what you are likely to earn this year or the next and, on that basis, fixes the amount he will get from you."

One other traditional method of debt management employed by the Babangida administration and supported, like others, by the IMF and World Bank, is the debt conversion programme, DCP. The programme's basic objectives are the alleviation of debt service burden and the encouragement of investment and growth through the private sector. The DCP also ensures that debts are paid in the local currency of debtor countries. Olashore sees it as a way to "accelerate the internationalisation of the Nigerian securities market as well as serving as a vehicle for promoting venture capital investment."

The programme sounds good in that it encourages additional foreign investment, but there are other costs, potentially dangerous for the economy. For example, some economists think it has the potential to increase sharply money supply to the economy, thereby taking inflation in the economy to new heights. Other economists say it will expose the private sector of the economy to a take-over by foreigners, thereby returning the situation to the preindigenisation era. Chile, for example, abandoned the programme after one year because the inflation and the fact that its private sector was being overrun by foreigners.

Said Samuel Aluko, a foremost Nigerian economist and member of NEWSWATCH Board of Economists: "Debt equity swap is not a good option. It can only work if those who buy shares through the auction come and work in Nigeria and invest their profits in Nigeria. Otherwise, it may turn out to be another indirect way of capital flight." There are others who say, too, that DCP is a mere palliative which can only deal with a small portion of the nation's debt. Indeed, Nigeria has only had six auctions so far and has sold less than \$180 million debt. The government, however, hopes to liquidate \$4.8 billion debt through the DCP. Privately, this figure is described as excessively optimistic.

These traditional debt management options have come under criticisms because of their shortcomings and may have propelled the Babangida administration into championing additional options during the OAU summit. However, the new proposals for debt management do not go as far as some Nigerians would want. As if to advance its position on the moral obligation of the nation to pay its debt, Nigeria's proposal for outright cancellation of its debt is limited to official loans. Many other economists would want everything included and the leftists are even prepared to go as far as repudiating the debt.

Oladipo Fashina, a philosophy lecturer at the Obafemi Awolowo University, OAU, Ile-Ife, and a member of the "Ife Collectives," told NEWSWATCH three weeks ago that what to do about the debt situation would be for debtors to form a cartel and lay out a well-co-ordinated plan to abrogate the debts, "especially in the case of Nigeria where some debts have not been certified as

genuine." This is an extreme version of the debt cartel idea whose foremost champion in Nigeria is Pius Okigbo, a revered economist. Okigbo has advocated time and again that a cartel by debtor nations is the best approach to winning favourable reschedulement terms and outright cancellations. His reasoning is that if the 15 most indebted nations come together, they would command so much clout that it would be impossible for creditors to allow their economy to go under. The total debt the 15 would be owing would be close to \$1,000 billion, a colossal amount that would bring down many banks and economies should the creditors not listen to the debtors.

Ashikiwe Adione-Egom, a.k.a. motor park economist, and publisher of FINANCIAL POST, told NEWSWATCH that "creditors of the West have nothing to do but to cancel our external debt, sooner than later. This is so because they have not done anything to help us repay them." He said also that Nigeria's primary objective "is not to think of paying back the debt to the West, but how it can improve the material well-being of its citizens. This means that we must turn our backs to the West and think about south-south co-operation."

Forming a cartel is hardly a solution that is feasible anytime soon, especially now that the Americans can prove that the Brady Plan can work for individual countries. It has for Mexico. And Philippines, Venezuela, as well as Morocco and Cote d'Ivoire, are expected to be next in line for debt reduction talks, according to information from French officials last week. Another stumbling block is the fact that the creditors, who themselves approach debt talks as a block, have always opposed a debtors' cartel. They, too, can, in defence, point to the fact that the IMF, the principal debt police, has been changing its economic adjustment prescriptions in line with realities in the developing world.

The establishment of a debt-purchasing agency supervised by the World Bank and IMF which would buy back debt at 80 percent discount, another new proposal, is supported by some economists. However, it is thought that it would be another version of the DCP, with attendant problems of inflation and the reversal of Nigeria's indigenisation decree. However, Edi C. Ndekwe, a research director at the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, NISER, in Ibadan, develops this line of thinking further. According to Ndekwe, Nigeria should look for ways of negotiating with Western governments to help the nation buy over the debts "we owe the London and Paris clubs. What I am suggesting is a debt swap at an international level." He explains further: "If a foreign country wants to give Nigeria a loan of, say, \$100 million, this loan can be paid to a commercial bank creditor for the debt Nigeria owes it. By so doing, the loan is transferred from the commercial bank creditor to a government and becomes a bilateral debt which is less problematic." Ndekwe terms his approach a "debt-for-debt option."

As far as Olashore is concerned, the best way out of the debt burden is for Nigeria to make more foreign exchange. As he explained, Nigeria's external debt management strategy should "emphasise defraying the obligations rather than delaying payment or seeking forgiveness." He adds: "Ability to meet these obligation as they mature is dependent on the state of global oil market, the growth in non-oil exports and the rate at which we can reduce our import bills."

Since he does not have faith in the volatile oil market, the way to earn more money would be by "installing downstream projects such as liquefied natural gas, LNG, to supplement earnings from crude oil sales." Most importantly, however, would be earnings accruing from non-oil exports. To boost earnings in this sector, he suggests that "the official protection of the naira should be lifted... The parallel market exchange rate approximates more closely, in our view, to the rate that will emerge from a free foreign exchange market and, if adopted by the Central Bank, it would boost the competitiveness of our export products and, at the same time, curb imports."

Olashore's view, however, discounts the political cost of such a move and the fact that the operators of the foreign exchange market have bastardised it with sharp practices to the detriment of the nation. Nevertheless, he advocates a plugging of the loopholes used to encourage capital flight. He suggests that "if, for example, all exports are done on the basis of an irrevocable letter of credit that is confirmed by a Nigerian bank, that confirming bank may be obliged by the monetary authority to monitor and report on the repatriation of the proceeds. This, in our view, will plug the current leakages in the diversion of oil-export proceeds." It would mean, in turn, that Nigeria would have more money to pay its debt.

Olashore also suggests that Nigeria itself should buy back its own debts out of its reserves at barely one quarter of the principal amount due on them, rather than ape the conventional practice of allowing foreign investors to "reap all the proceeds of the discount in a scheme which eventually will only scratch the surface of the problem." Otherwise, he suggests that Nigeria should build credibility for the economy with a view to attracting long-term loans and investment inflow. This suggestion is supported by Aluko who says that "our external debt is not too much, compared to our resources and potentialities." What he suggests is that new loans should be used for projects that will yield enough funds to pay back the loans. Oladipo Fafowora, executive director of Manufacturers' Association of Nigeria, MAN, agrees. He told NEWSWATCH last week that "borrowing to develop the energy and transport sectors, for instance, is a plus." But Ibrahim Ayagi, director-general, Kano State Foundation, does not agree with such an argument. He favours debt repayment now and not debt rescheduling. He is opposed to more borrowing, saying Nigeria should learn to live within its means.

In the long run, the crunch will come, starting from 1992, when some of the rescheduled debts will come due for payment. If Nigeria is able to successfully restructure its economy, and become "export-oriented instead of import-oriented, we should be able to pay off the debt sooner or later," in the words of Fafowora. If not, however, and if, as predicted by the Economic Intelligence Unit, EIU, in its report on Nigeria, the economy only makes tepid recovery, harder times are ahead for Nigerians.

Babangida told the African service of the British Broadcasting Corporation last June, after the SAP riots: "I inherited it (debt) and others will come and inherit it also. But as far as we are concerned, we will continue to make deliberate efforts to reduce the debt burden on the country." A First Bank economic report around the same time, however, says that Nigeria's debt would be at least \$40 billion by 1992. This will be so because interest will continue to accrue and the continued weakening of the dollar exchange rate, vis-a-vis other currency denominations in which Nigeria's loans are held. Even Aluko's suggestion that the nation establishes a loan council, with representatives from the federal government, state governments and the private sector to monitor the debt situation, raise loan for the country and determine what it can pay, at what interest, may be of no consequence.

The situation may justify Ayagi's pessimism that "all available tangible evidence indicates that the present generation of Nigerians will live to pay, and the future generation would also be born to also continue paying."

* British N136.7 Million Grant To Promote Ties

34000777b Lagos THE GUARDIAN
in English 10 Aug 89 p 16

[Article by Hugo Odiogor: "Nigeria Expects N136.68m Grant From Britain"]

[Text] Nigeria expects L11.5 million (about N136.68 million) as grants from the British Government to promote educational, cultural and technical ties between the two countries.

The money, which is reported to be in Britain's budget for this fiscal year, covers three broad headlines. British Government grants to the Overseas Development Authority (ODA); grants to Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) grant is valued at L6.6 million to L7.85 million) and earnings from British Council's activities amounted to L1.5 million (N17.85 million).

This year's vote is L1.6 million (about N136.85 million) u to last year's L9.9 million (N114.54 million).

British Council representative in Nigeria, Mr James Whittell, told THE GUARDIAN that the money which disbursement is supervised by the council, is specifically meant to sponsor Nigerian students, professionals in government departments and academics to British for training.

Whittell said the ODA fund is managed on behalf of the British Government for the implementation of projects which the two countries jointly initialised.

He expressed happiness that some of the stalled projects are now being implemented, while negotiations were almost concluded on others. Some of the projects now at several stages of implementation include equipment supply to five polytechnics—Yaba, College of Technology, Akanu Ibiam Polytechnic Uwana, Afikpo, Federal Polytechnics, at Ado Ekiti, Bida and Mubi.

Whittell said the British Council has been approached to assist in the development of public administration and public services courses at the Administrative Staff College of Nigeria (ASCON) Badagry, to facilitate the training of trainers within the public service.

His words: "We are particularly concerned in developing the management of information system, maintenance management and development of small-scale industries".

Other projects which will gulp part of the grant include the development of science and technical education in secondary and tertiary schools through the supply of equipment and manpower training and the promotion of the use of English language.

Whittell hoped that the British Council's activities in Nigeria, the second biggest after India, would expand rapidly in future.

The volume of the council's operations dropped to a very low level in the mid-1970s and 80s following Britain's economic travails and the chill in diplomatic relations between London and Lagos.

Whittell said with the improved relations between Nigeria and Britain was exemplified by "the visit of British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher and the very singular success of President Ibrahim Babangida's reciprocal journey to London this year", the council's activities in Nigeria would expand. But he predicated such warmer relations on the expected returns from the British investment in the country.

Senegal

* Diouf's Retreat; Mauritanian Expulsions Viewed

34190296b Dakar SOPI in French
4 Jul 89 p 1

[Editorial by Ousmane Ngom: "Has Abdou Diouf Surrendered?"]

[Text] It is no secret that Abdou Diouf's preferred strategy for dealing with political and social conflicts has been to let them fester, to play for time, in the hope that things will eventually straighten out once people are too worn out and divided to continue the fight. What people didn't realize before, but have now begun to see, is that when it comes to resolution of conflicts between states, in particular the

conflict between Senegal and Mauritania, Abdou Diouf's only strategy is one of backing down—making concessions in exchange for nothing but embraces—even if they mean sacrificing the highest interests of the nation on the altar of his personal ambition.

For some time now the Senegalese people have been wondering about the sudden silence into which the authorities lapsed after the media circuses surrounding Bamako I and II. We were told that "diplomacy is not conducted on the roof-tops" and that at Bamako, Senegal had brought up the border problem and would not agree to discuss anything else before it was resolved.

And suddenly, as if by the wave of a magic wand, it comes out that at the Rosso meetings the two countries would discuss the livestock issue. That was the first retreat: we are not talking about the border anymore, just livestock. Given the fact that the problem was basically one of Mauritanian livestock coming to pasture on Senegalese territory (since we are just now leaving the dry season behind), we see that here again Diouf decided to present Taya with a gift. Without getting anything in return. The second retreat.

Even while we are being swindled in Rosso, Mauritania continues its offensive: the tide of deported black Africans gets larger and larger; more than 26,000, according to the official communique published on 2 July by the Senegalese Government. Their situation has become almost tragic with the early arrival of the rainy season in the river region: they are exposed to intemperate weather and all manner of contagious diseases. Mauritania has clearly succeeded in decimating whole villages and is in process of achieving its undeclared objective: to denigrate the whole valley for the benefit of the "aidanes" ["white" Moors] who want to become landed gentry. It's just too bad if people on the other side of the river, on the left bank, are huddled by the hundreds in houses or sheltered from the elements only by trees.

The Senegalese Government has accepted the fait accompli and is now turning to the international community to ask for aid. The third retreat, and not the least by any means, was Diouf's warm embrace of Taya at Ouagadougou. How could Abdou Diouf, barely 2 months after the massacre of several hundred Senegalese, in circumstances as brutal as those described in all the media, embrace the man who ordered that great slaughter, while their grief-stricken families are still mourning their dead?

How could he do it at a time when our repatriated compatriots from Mauritania, humiliated and stripped of everything they had, are still traumatized from their Mauritanian nightmare?

Finally, and most importantly, how can he remain silent after being closeted for 3 whole hours with Taya, without telling the Senegalese people whether or not he pledged to give away part of our territory, under the specious pretext of an OAU mediation? In the face of Mauritania's attacks and provocations, has Diouf decided to

back down—not to say surrender—in order to stay in power, even if it means sacrificing the nation's interests and giving away its territory?

These are urgent questions, and they urgently demand answers. The people will not be patient indefinitely.

* Takeover of Mauritanian Business Urged

34190315 Dakar LE SOLEIL in French
17-18 Jun 89 p 12

[Interview with Minister of Commerce Seydina Oumar Sy by Moustapha Mbodj; first paragraph is LE SOLEIL introduction]

[Text] At the end of Minister of Commerce Seydina Oumar Sy's two-day stay in the Kaolack region, where he met with the economic operators prior to chairing a special CRD [Regional Development Commission] meeting on the retail business situation after the departure of the Moorish shopkeepers, Sy granted us this exclusive interview. He mentioned the issue of indemnifying the victims of the Senegalese-Mauritanian incidents, and then noted an increase in sales and a noticeable decline in fraudulent trafficking.

[LE SOLEIL] Mr Minister, what is Senegal's position regarding the estimates of losses put forward on the one hand by the Mauritanian authorities and on the other by the Senegalese employers?

[Sy Sedina] We leave to Mauritania the entire responsibility for the numbers that it has put forward regarding the losses sustained by its nationals. For our part, we note that these numbers vary so much from one day to the next and depending on the source at the time that that country loses even its credibility. As regards the Senegalese industrialists, we consider that they will have to provide the proof of what they say.

If you have noticed, the attitude of the Senegalese Government has not changed since the start of the incidents. We have held strictly to the truth of the facts. We know that there is a dispute and we are working up a solid dossier based on the truth of the facts. Our constant concern has been to present a very reliable dossier at the opportune time. Going back to the Senegalese employers, if the industrialists estimate that they have, for example, lost 20 billion CFA francs, it is up to them to prove it.

[LE SOLEIL] The other issue concerns fraud. The departure of the Mauritanian shopkeepers coincided with an increase in sales and a noticeable decline in fraud. What conclusion do you draw from this?

[Sy Sedina] By way of example, I will tell you that the sales of the Senegalese Sugar Company have, in fact, increased

by 50 percent; the same holds for SONACOS [National Oil Products Marketing Company of Senegal] (oil), at a time when all thought that the distribution channels would be disrupted. There has been some tight spots here or there, but never any shortage. And at present, we are witnessing an increase in sales. The report is certainly there, but it is premature for the time being to pass judgment on anyone. We are continuing our investigations, the results of which will establish who is responsible for what, including the Mauritanian shopkeepers.

[LE SOLEIL] The economic operators have drawn up a number of proposals that will inescapably result in changes in depth in that sector of activities. Are you ready to accept them, or even to accelerate them?

[Sy Sedina] The most responsible attitude, which is that which we have adopted, consists in examining these proposals point by point, some of which are in the domain of other ministries, in particular those of the economy and finances. These questions will, therefore, be examined at the governmental level. A meeting has been scheduled with the economic operators in July to see what fate will be in store for them.

[LE SOLEIL] Mr Minister, the economic operators, who have some experience and a rather substantial financial base, do not have the same view as the youth as to the way of filling the retail business slot. How are you going to organize all this?

[Sy Sedina] I think that the economic operators who have the means do not need the same kind of aid as the young. On the whole, these youths need to be informed, to be better channeled toward access to retail credit and assistance for the requirements for good management, in case of need. As regards the economic operators, they have the possibility of opening up shops; let them do it. It is not up to the state to choose this one against that one.

To go back to the youth, needless to say the government will help them. For the time being, we have backed some 180 pilot stores and the experiment will continue if this test turns out to be conclusive.

Sierra Leone

Momoh Returns From Belgrade Nonaligned Summit

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[Excerpt] President Joseph Saidu Momoh returned to Freetown this afternoon from the Ninth Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Nonaligned Movement, which took place at Belgrade in Yugoslavia. In his address to the conference, the president, among other things, expressed concern over the continued deterioration of a number of issues of international interest despite the global interest to contain them. [passage omitted]

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